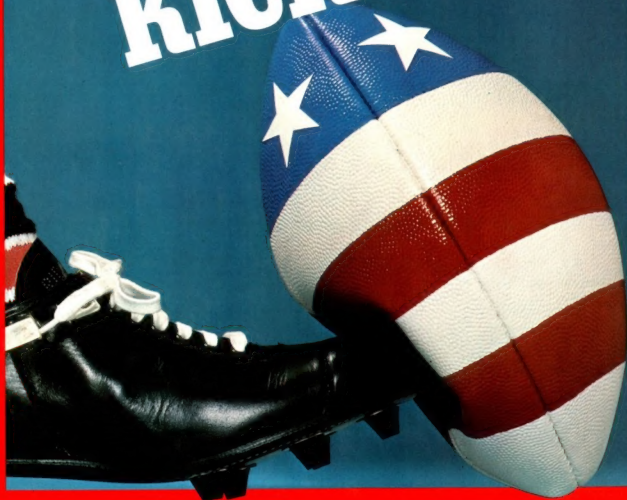


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SEPTEMBER 13, 1976

# TIME

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Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined  
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FILTER: 11 mg. "tar", 0.7 mg. nicotine, MENTHOL: 11 mg. "tar",  
0.8 mg. nicotine, av. per cigarette, FTC Report APR. 76.

## A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

Autumn is a season of bonfires, pep rallies, red-dogs and touchdowns—as well as the time for presidential candidates to make their climactic quadrennial sprint toward Election Day. "Both football and press-the-flesh politics are peculiarly American institutions," says Associate Editor James Atwater, the writer of this week's cover story who has observed those peculiarities at close hand for three decades.

Atwater began his journalistic career on a festive note at age 16, when he put in a summer stint for the Springfield (Mass.) *Union*. The only staffer on hand at the paper's two-man Westfield bureau on V-J day, he recalls, "I took my typewriter, set it on a windowsill, and wrote about what I could see before me: a grand, impromptu celebration in the town square. It was a great moment for a kid raised on *The Front Page*."

After graduating from Yale in 1950, Atwater had his first look at national politics as a trainee in TIME's Washington bureau. Sports were blended into his career six years later when he covered Big Ten games as a correspondent in TIME's Detroit bureau and wrote the SPORT section before ending up as a NATION writer in time for the Kennedy-Nixon race of 1960. "The debates that year were the most gripping TV of the period," he says. "We all used to organize our week around those nights." Atwater expects to spend some fascinating nights this year when Carter and Ford debate.

Of course, the 1976 campaign began a long time ago, for politicians and journalists alike. Reporter-Researchers Eileen Chiu and Anne Hopkins have been busy with the rush of political events since early spring. For Washington Correspondent Dean Fischer, who has switched back and forth over G.O.P. turf this year, the campaign has been a mixed affair. "Can a refugee from the Reagan campaign find a haven in the White House?" he asks. That may not be too difficult, since Fischer covered the President for two years, including the early primaries. Says he: "It's like coming home again."

Washington Correspondent Stanley Cloud, who has been on the road or in Plains, Ga., with Carter for nearly a year, finds the assignment unexpectedly rewarding. Says he: "Cynics complain that within the confines of a presidential campaign—with all its jet planes and buses and motorcades—one learns nothing at all about America. I disagree. I've learned more about America, about the astounding diversity of this country, than I ever knew before."

*Ralph P. Davidson*

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# Does this kind of environmental arithmetic add up to you?

So far, Bethlehem Steel has spent about \$400 million just to buy and install the hardware to clean up a major portion of the air and water at our various operations.

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Some simple long division shows we spent about \$4,700 to capture each 1% of the emissions in the first 93.8%...and about \$440,000 to

capture each 1% of the emissions in the next 5.5%! This is one example of the kind of environmental arithmetic we're up against.

**What lies ahead?** Depending upon how far regulatory agencies go in stringent interpretation of present laws and regulations, we may be faced with spending hundreds of millions more to try to remove the last traces of pollution.

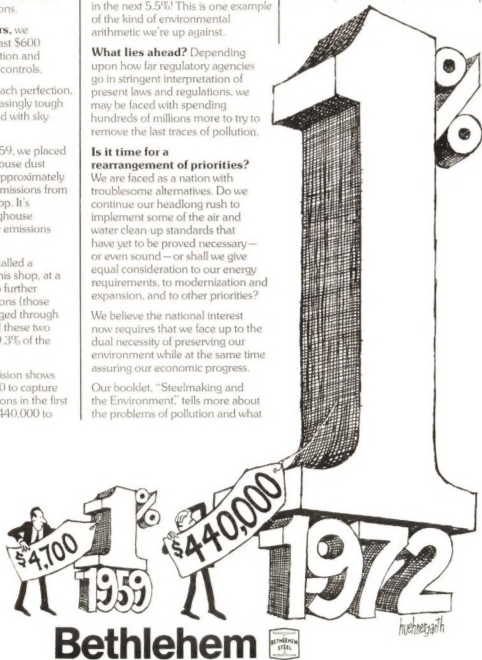
## Is it time for a rearrangement of priorities?

We are faced as a nation with troublesome alternatives. Do we continue our headlong rush to implement some of the air and water clean-up standards that have yet to be proved necessary—or even sound—or shall we give equal consideration to our energy requirements, to modernization and expansion, and to other priorities?

We believe the national interest now requires that we face up to the dual necessity of preserving our environment while at the same time assuring our economic progress.

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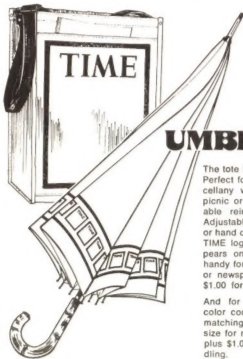
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## FORUM

### What a Bash!

To the Editors:

The Democratic National Convention may have been "the lull before the lull," but the Republican National Convention [Aug. 23] made me proud to be an independent.

Sherry Solomon  
Houston

What a bash!

Addalee Jacobson  
San Diego

Where did the convention's Reagan fanatics get those obnoxious horns? I'm



glad I was—and still am—for President Ford.

Richard Carr  
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

Perhaps after the Republicans get creamed in November and the moderate Democrats realize that Carter will never be able to keep his promises, the disillusioned from both sides will form a new middle-of-the-road party.

This would leave the liberal Democrats and radical-right Republicans hanging on to their dogmas—and out of office.

Arthur T. Morey  
Richmond Heights, Mo.

So William Simon thinks that the G.O.P. has not had a new idea for 81 years.

Since "new ideas" today seem to mean vast, expensive federal programs that cause further encroachment on our freedoms, I am content to remain a Republican with no new ideas.

Bruce Lavash  
Cincinnati

You're wrong when you say that the Republicans favor less government; the Republicans think it's fine to spend



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## FORUM

money on B-1 bombers, but when it comes to food stamps for poor people you hear a different story.

Ron Payse  
Lakeside, Ohio

There is no better example of our constitutional system of checks and balances than Mr. Ford's use of the veto to curb the Democratic Congress's headlong race toward socialism.

Stephen M. Fox  
Playa del Rey, Calif.

Come Nov. 2, Gerald Ford and his Republican colleagues, who extol principles completely devoid of compassion, pragmatism and common sense will have little left with which to console themselves—except munching on peanuts.

Barry Nathan  
St. Louis

Why should Watergate be an issue? Can't the Democrats speak on their own merits, instead of talking only about rattlesnakes?

Barbara Turley  
Phoenix

It is not a question of whether the American people want to forgive and forget Watergate in the upcoming election. The question is: Do they want to risk it happening all over again?

James C. Magee  
Drexel Hill, Pa.

When Senator Howard Baker of Tennessee and some of his colleagues speak of the Democrats "rattling the dusty old skeletons of Watergate," has anyone reminded them that some of the culprits are still looking forward to serving their jail terms?

Lilian Wolkling  
Santa Rosa, Calif.

## Forget the Maine?

Re the destruction of the U.S. battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor in 1898 [Aug. 23]: truth at last came to the surface—proof once more that Spain was unjustly accused. Will the United States ever apologize? Will the cry "Remember the Maine" quiet down?

Will you finally pay attention to the sufferings of all the Spanish soldiers you murdered in Cuba? How many mistakes have cost massacres?

Cristina Rodriguez  
Miami

## Decline and Fall

"The Score: Rome 1,500, U.S. 200" [Aug. 23] consoles us that America does not parallel Rome because we are an ingenious and curious nation with breakthroughs in space technology, medical science, etc.

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**02**



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And how Old Forester becomes Great Whisky.



Kentucky Straight Bourbon Whisky, 100 Proof, Blended, Imported, Distilled, Cask, Louisville, Ky., ©1998.

## FORUM

centage of Americans, while the vast majority live only for Monday-night football, the paycheck and the weekend.

*William Traverso  
Los Angeles*

Mind and spirit really never had a chance during the Roman Empire, which was elitist. There is more hope for us with our popular participation in elections, our consumer groups and all the other new activist groups that are trying to solve our environmental pollution problems and meet the world's energy and hunger challenges.

*Selma I. Spielberger  
Philadelphia*

## The Yves of Revolution

Three cheers for Yves Saint Laurent [Aug. 16] for restoring the feminine mystique to fashion. Now that we girls have proved that we are equal to boys in most things in life, perhaps we can step out of those fly-front pants and back into skirts. Saint Laurent has created a fashion revolution which may lead to a whole social revolution.

*Greer Fay Cashman  
Jerusalem*

I have not the time (three hours for makeup), the money (\$2,000 to \$10,000 indeed!), the energy, or the three servants to dress me that these ridiculous outfits require.

*Susan Fry  
Portola Valley, Calif.*

## Bottom Line

What David Tinnin fails to realize in his piece on profits [Aug. 16] is that the apparent success of the profit system in America has been possible only as long as those who profit are allowed to escape the real costs involved in ripping off the planet and its inhabitants, both present and future.

*James L. Sudmeier  
Riverside, Calif.*

What a splendid Essay!

*John Diebold  
New York City*

Excellent. David Tinnin could have pointed out, however, that the more complex and capital-intensive our economy becomes, the greater is the need for larger sums of money to launch expensive new products. The question is how much longer the economy will be able to raise the money privately.

*David R. Ashley  
Montrose, Colo.*

## Jockeying in the Aegean

Your article "The Aegean—Acts of Piracy?" [Aug. 23] gives a clear picture of the true story in Asia Minor. What Turkey has caused in the Aegean is lawfully wrong and the Turks know it. The

# St. Louis. Nobody has more ways to get there.

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9:10 a.m.	11:05 a.m.		5:58 a.m.	7:45 a.m.	
9:40 a.m.	11:30 a.m.		6:18 a.m.	8:10 a.m.	
*10:55 a.m.	11:51 a.m.		* 8:00 a.m.	8:57 a.m.	Breakfast
*11:50 a.m.	12:45 p.m.	Snack	*10:25 a.m.	11:18 a.m.	
* 1:05 p.m.	2:00 p.m.	Snack	10:30 a.m.	12:15 p.m.	
1:30 p.m.	3:25 p.m.		10:30 a.m.	12:18 p.m.	
* 3:25 p.m.	4:20 p.m.		*11:55 a.m.	12:48 p.m.	Snack
* 4:25 p.m.	5:20 p.m.		*12:40 p.m.	1:33 p.m.	Snack
* 5:35 p.m.	6:31 p.m.	Wine Basket	1:25 p.m.	2:49 p.m.	
5:59 p.m.	7:25 p.m.		* 1:55 p.m.	2:48 p.m.	
* 6:15 p.m.	7:11 p.m.	Wine Basket	* 4:00 p.m.	4:55 p.m.	
6:59 p.m.	8:53 p.m.		4:05 p.m.	5:35 p.m.	
* 7:35 p.m.	8:31 p.m.		* 5:00 p.m.	5:58 p.m.	Wine Basket
9:20 p.m.	11:10 p.m.		* 6:00 p.m.	6:55 p.m.	Wine Basket
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## FORUM

Greeks are in the position of owning their home and, because their neighbor likes it, seeing him come and take it.

*Michael Goudis*  
Dunedin, Fla.

What the Turks intend is clear: to impose their views by force of arms, arms supplied by the U.S. and paid for by U.S. taxpayers, in the name of what Kissinger calls "good diplomacy."

*Constantine E. Michaelides*  
St. Louis

## Shocked

I was shocked to see Yugoslavia's President Tito [Aug. 23] use the word "freedom" so many times in his message to America. Who would have known that Communists could bring themselves to use that word?

*Karin Romanenko*  
Greenville, Pa.

If Tito really wishes to celebrate the Bicentennial, let him begin at home. Let Yugoslavia give its oppressed peoples freedom of speech, press and assembly.

*Petar Radicevic*  
Croatian Information Service  
Arcadia, Calif.

## Bullied into Fluency

I was one of John Rassias' Peace Corps trainees in language at Dartmouth [Aug. 23]. We were harassed, wheedled and bullied into fluency by him and his equally excitable assistants.

Few learning experiences can compare with Professor Rassias, nose inches from yours, screaming horrible threats to frighten out a response vite!

*Merri, Professor Rassias* It was well worth the fright.

*Linda Goldsmith Bostrom*  
Taos Ski Valley, N. Mex.

## No Torture


Your excellent article on the widespread practice of torture by governments leaves the impression that a human rights amendment of mine has not yet been adopted [Aug. 16]. Congress passed a revised military aid bill, signed into law by the President on June 30, which contains the human rights provision.

The provision states that it is the policy of the U.S. that no security assistance shall be provided to any country whose government "engages in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights" specifically mentioning torture as an example of such violations.

*Donald M. Fraser*  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C.

Address letters to TIME, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020





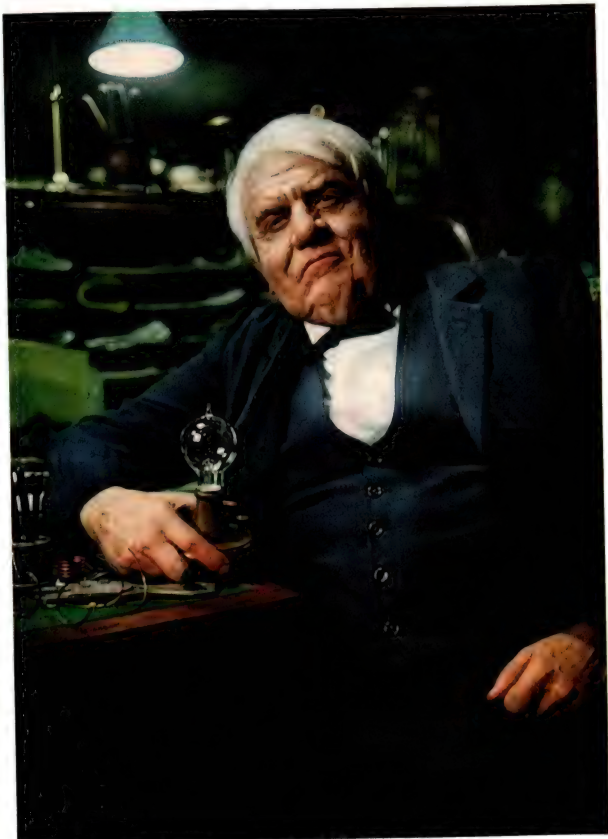
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19 mg. "tar", 1.3 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report APR. '76.



Thomas Edison is portrayed by actor Pat Hingle in a unique series of commercials. One is reprinted here. You can see many of the others on the TV special "Just an Old Sweet Song" September 14 on CBS.

# If you asked Edison about his greatest invention, we don't think he'd say it was the light bulb.

*We think he'd say something like this:*

*"Some people have called the light bulb my greatest invention.*

*I'd have to disagree.*

*It wasn't the light bulb. Or the phonograph. Or the motion picture.*

*I think my greatest invention was the commercial research lab. A place where I could develop all kinds of inventions.*

*I built the very first commercial research lab in the country in Menlo Park, New Jersey, in 1876.*

*You could say that was the start of the General Electric Company.*

*But, of course, I didn't know it at the time.*

*At Menlo Park, we had as many as 44 different inventions under way at the same time. Sometimes you couldn't hear yourself think. Of course, in my case it didn't matter. I've been deaf since I was twelve.*

*It was my goal to turn out a minor invention every ten days and a big thing every six months or so.*

*Two of my big things were the light bulb and the power plant.*

*They had to be developed at the same time. Because I had no hope of selling the light bulb if there was no electricity. And I had no hope of selling electricity unless there was a light bulb.*

*The company I set up to sell the light bulb was called the Edison Electric Light Company. Later, it became the General Electric Company.*

*How did I get in the whole inventing business anyway?*

*Quite frankly, I saw it as a way to make some money. When I was a newsboy, I had a chance to learn that money can be made out of a little careful thought. And, being poor, I already knew that money was a valuable thing.*

*Boys who don't know that are under a disadvantage greater than deafness."*



The research tradition Thomas Edison started continues today at the General Electric Research and Development Center in Schenectady, N.Y. Over the years, this General Electric laboratory has pioneered many developments such as the x-ray, industrial plastics, radio, television, the jet engine, Man-Made™ diamonds.

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CARTER WALKS WITH THE CROWD IN PLAINS, GA., AFTER EXPLAINING DEBATE NEGOTIATIONS AT A HOME-TOWN PRESS CONFERENCE

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE Sept. 12, 1976 Vol. 108, No. 11

## TIME

### AMERICAN NOTES

#### Taxpayers' Revolt

It does not happen very often, but sometimes, when the taxman bites, taxpayers bite back. Homeowners in Los Angeles County were stunned this July when they were hit with reassessments ranging up to 100%. The Angelenos rebelled. They staged protests, bombarded the county tax assessor with nearly 20,000 appeals and at a recent forum hooted Mayor Tom Bradley and other politicians right off the podium. Getting the thunderous message, the California state legislature empowered the Los Angeles County board of supervisors to reopen hearings on the budget.

Easier said than done, of course. Much of Los Angeles County's \$3.3 billion annual budget consists of mandated programs that cannot be trimmed. So the board's first act was to pare the county's \$2.4 million contribution to air-pollution control—a saving of \$1 a year for the average homeowner. Yet something, somewhere, is going to have to give—sooner rather than later.

#### Future Shocks

To celebrate the Bicentennial, Michael O'Leary, president of Philadelphia Resident Astrologers Inc., decided to have various seers, psychics and stargazers of his acquaintance predict the nation's next 100 years. The prophecies were sealed in a 3½-ft. steel cylinder and buried 25 ft. beneath Chestnut Street.

Theosophist Kenneth Buzby pre-

dicted that war will become a thing of the past, that cancer will be cured and pollution overcome. But most prophets were decidedly gloomier. Several foresaw an end of the American presidency, perhaps by the year 2025. Tarot Card Reader Johanna Okovic predicted an earthquake in New York City in 1978 and a war between 2011 and 2016. Astrologer Leah O'Leary, Michael's wife, forecast a "naval conflict" in 1979, floods on both the East and West coasts and a "nuclear mishap in 1983."

By and large, the seers were so pessimistic it is a wonder they thought anyone would be around in 2076 to retrieve their forecasts from the crypt.

#### Inside Job

A standard complaint about prison rehabilitation programs is that they do not work. One such program at Leavenworth, the federal prison in Kansas, appears to have worked only too well. Six years ago, Leavenworth launched a computer training course under a federal contract. The computer course became so popular that 58 convicts are enrolled.

Small wonder. Inmates apparently learned how to crack the computer code governing Internal Revenue Service audits. Since prisoners must file tax returns on any outside income, some saw a golden opportunity. Knowing how to hoodwink the computer, they loaded their returns with all kinds of bogus claims for refunds, with little fear of being audited. One convict was finally caught. Last week he went on trial for receiving \$20-

000 in illegal refunds. Others are sure to follow him to the dock, since the total rip-off could range anywhere from \$150,000 to \$6 million. Back to making license plates.

#### Babes in Farm Land

With enrollment soaring at U.S. agricultural colleges, an increasing number of the new students are coming not from the hills and hollows but from the cities. At Illinois, Michigan State, Minnesota, Ohio State, Purdue and Wisconsin, more than 50% of the aspiring agriculturists were not raised on farms. Ohio State's William Flinn, a rural sociologist, has devised a test to measure their initial ignorance. He whimsically calls it "The Udder American IQ Test." Sample questions:

► A rotary hoe is (a) a subcommittee of the Rotary International, (b) a folk dance in a "hoe down," (c) a type of spike-tooth harrow, (d) a Cultipacker used in no-till agriculture, (e) a farm implement used to loosen soil after planting.

► A Rhode Island Red is (a) a crossbreed between a Suffolk and Dorset, (b) a member of the Communist Party, (c) a variety of muskmelon, (d) a plant disease, (e) a breed of chickens.

► 4-H stands for (a) hard, horny, hairy and hip, (b) head, heart, hearth and hope, (c) head, heart, hands and health, (d) helpless, hyper, hideous and hectic, (e) a four-cylinder Massey-Harris tractor.

Answers continue





FORD MAKES A SPEECH AT SOUTH DAKOTA'S ELLSWORTH AIR FORCE BASE ON TRIP FROM VAIL, COLO., TO WASHINGTON

## THE NATION

### THE ELECTION/COVER STORIES

# CAMPAIGN KICKOFF

There was the same sense of tension, the same feeling of rising excitement, the same hope of glory to be won, as though the two teams were poised for a kickoff.

In the hamlet of Plains, Ga., where the jungle heat of August still hung on, Jimmy Carter was tanned and rested from his long midsummer idyl and eager to go. When the word came that the debates were on—that he would be able to meet Gerald Ford face to face while tens of millions watched on television—Carter was delighted, confident that he would do well in the duels that could decide the campaign.

As for Ford, he was in a euphoric and combative mood, still cheered by his victory over Ronald Reagan in Kansas City. Talking to Republican legislative leaders gathered in the Cabinet Room, the President refused to surrender any section of the country to Carter—even the South. Warned Ford: "If I find anybody on the staff promoting that line, he'll be fired." Said one Congressman later: "I've never seen the President so vehement."

Although Ford clearly starts out as the underdog—trailing in the latest Gallup poll 37% to Carter's 52%—the struggle with Carter promises to be the most exciting and fascinating since John

Kennedy edged Richard Nixon in 1960. In fact, in its patterns and subtleties, it may well be even more complicated than that epic contest. As the man who is trying to reunite the old Democratic coalition, Carter chose the site for his Labor Day speech with special care for its symbolism: Warm Springs, Ga., where Franklin D. Roosevelt often visited and where he died in 1945. In his address, Carter will argue that only someone who has not been in Washington for most of his adult life—as Ford has—can provide the new ideas and fresh vision demanded by the times. Carter also plans to go this week to Chicago, where Mayor Richard Daley is whumping up a mammoth torchlight parade to spark a drive aimed at capturing Illinois and its 26 electoral votes.

Officially, Ford will not begin his campaign until the week of Sept. 12, when he will speak at the University of Michigan, his alma mater. The President intends to talk of his plans for the future of America, hoping to make a favorable contrast with the evocation of the past created by Carter's pilgrimage to Warm Springs. But officially or not, the President will be campaigning hard this week. An edited version of his socko acceptance speech will be shown on CBS-TV. The President Ford Committee

bought the air time, for \$86,000, because the speech was delivered at 10:30 p.m. in Kansas City—a time when untold millions in such pivotal Eastern states as Pennsylvania (27 electoral votes) and New York (41) had already gone to bed. Then, staying in Washington and acting "presidential"—a major theme of his campaign—Ford will address the B'nai B'rith convention, a speech that will be closely studied by key Jewish leaders. Ford will also meet with the same Roman Catholic bishops who last week got into yet another squabble with Carter over the abortion issue (see story page 21). All in all, quite a week of campaigning for a noncampaigning President.

**W**hat makes the coming election so gripping is that it is much more than a contest between a conservative President and a moderate challenger with liberal leanings. Issues and ideology will matter, of course, but the struggle will most likely be decided on other grounds. It will be colored by religion and haunted by Watergate. More important, the American people, fed up with politics and politicians, are in a mood to choose the man they see as the stronger leader—someone they can trust.

Both camps realize the situation full

## THE NATION

well. Hamilton Jordan, Carter's frank, perceptive campaign manager, might be speaking for the President's men when he says: "People like Gerald Ford. They think he's honest. They think he's well intentioned. A lot of people in this country think he's been a very strong President. People are just coming to know Jimmy Carter. They like him. They think he's honest. They think he's well intentioned. A lot of people have made a tentative judgment that Carter would be a stronger President. I think the election will turn on whether that judgment is confirmed or withdrawn. If it's confirmed, Jimmy will win. If it's withdrawn, Ford will win."

Despite his early and substantial lead, Carter was anything but overconfident. For his part, the President remained convinced that he could win an election that depended so heavily on the sense of character and strength each candidate can project. Thus the three televised Ford-Carter debates could swing the outcome either way, not so much by what Ford and Carter actually say about the issues but by the general impression of their potential for leadership that they are able to convey to a nationwide audience.

Ford starts with many familiar problems: the low state of the Republican Party, the legacy of Watergate, the polls

showing that most Americans believe he should not have pardoned Richard Nixon, the lack of a national constituency for an unelected President, the scathing attacks by Reagan on his leadership abilities, and the absence of great faith in his capacity to cope with the job. Still, Ford does have the considerable advantages of incumbency. As President, he can shape events—send bills crackling up to Congress, make appointments, dominate the news. And Ford—a hearty, unaffected man, a kind of prototypical Midwesterner—has clearly restored both dignity and informality to

## Re-Viewing the '60 Debates

"The revelation of any man comes through flashes of light." So said CBS President Frank Stanton before a journalism group in 1960 as he analyzed the Kennedy-Nixon TV debates of that year. It is a remark worth recalling as the Ford-Carter debates of 1976 approach. While it has become fashionable to belittle the first televised clash of major presidential candidates, the 1960 debates did illuminate important personal qualities of the two men—more so, in fact, than anyone realized at the time.

The flashes sometimes came as the cameras cut away from the candidate who was speaking to focus on the other's reaction. In the first debate, a grim Nixon, his features taut, avoided looking at his adversary, and his eyes darted warily about the studio. As Nixon spoke, a seemingly relaxed Kennedy looked directly at the nervous Vice President.

Sometimes the revelations came in the candidates' words. One of the newsmen quizzing the candidates asked Kennedy if he owed Nixon an apology for former President Harry Truman's remark that those who vote for Nixon and the Republican Party "ought to go to hell." Kennedy replied lightheartedly, "I really do not think there is anything that I can say to President Truman that is going to cause him, at the age of 76, to change his particular speaking manner. Perhaps Mrs. Truman can, but I do not think I can."

Nixon, by contrast, seized on the topic to proclaim, "I see mothers holding their babies up so that they can see a man who might be President." It makes you realize that whoever is President is going to be a man that all the children of America will either look up to or will look down to. And I can only say that I am very proud that President Eisenhower restored dignity and decency and, frankly, good language to the conduct of the presidency of the United States." The Nixon tapes, of course, lat-

er showed just how self-righteous that statement was.

Kennedy went into the debates as an underdog to Nixon. The boyish-looking Senator was widely seen as an attractive but inexperienced and unpresidential lightweight. Nixon had hoped to show him up as a rich political playboy. But the self-assured Kennedy tossed off facts and statistics with ease, demonstrating that he was every bit as knowledgeable as his opponent.

If Kennedy's confidence and competence went a long way toward overcoming his underdog status, Nixon's drawn appearance in the first debate probably helped even more. Nixon had learned that Kennedy planned to wear no makeup. Before CBS Producer Don Hewitt had a chance to explain that the deeply suntanned Kennedy really did not need any makeup, Nixon rejected an offer of professional cosmetic help from the network. Instead, Nixon had his own makeup man apply Lazy Shave, a light pancake makeup, for the famous 50-cent shadow. Yet even a poor makeup job does not wholly account for his pale, sickly appearance in the first debate. As Ted Rogers, Nixon's radio and TV technical adviser, later explained, "No TV camera, no makeup man can hide bone-weariness, physical fatigue. He was actually sick. He had a fever."

Four one-hour debates were held in Chicago, Washington, then an innovative split-screen appearance with Nixon in Los Angeles and Kennedy in New York City, and a final joint presentation from New York.

The first debate was on domestic issues. Each candidate made an eight-minute opening and a three-minute closing statement and fielded questions from network correspondents in the interval. Each debater was also allowed to comment on the other's answers. The two middle debates consisted of answering questions on any topic posed by report-



ers. The final debate was similar to the first but was confined to foreign policy.

The networks went to great lengths to give the candidates equal technical treatment. The separate lenses trained on the two were perfectly matched. ABC, which handled the split-screen debate as well as the final one, constructed two identical, fully furnished cottages in its largest New York studio so both men could prepare in comfort. The background cloth for the split sets in New York and Los Angeles was bought by ABC from the same mill. After the set was painted in New York, cans of the same paint were taken by Production Service Director Fred Schuhmann in an airplane to Los Angeles, to be used there.

For the first debate, CBS constructed an entire set in New York, shipped it to Chicago, repainted it to darken the background, then spent 200 man-hours reviewing the set, painting it once more, building new furniture and restitching the green carpeting for the candidates.

the White House. People tend to regard him, as one of his aides puts it, as being "safe, secure, sound."

**A**lthough the unemployment rate has been rising—it went from 7.3% in May to 7.9% in August—the nation is rebounding, if somewhat erratically, from the 1973-75 recession. Ford's go-easy tactics of letting the economy largely right itself are so far working out fairly well. No American boys are fighting overseas, none are even being drafted. There is a growing sense of well-being in the country, par-

ticularly among the members of the huge and increasingly affluent middle class.

Taking on Carter, Ford will stress his own "experience" and speak often of the need for "trust." Carter, he is already saying, lacks experience and should be viewed with suspicion because "he is the biggest flip-flopper I know." Not only that, Ford has claimed that Carter inspires widespread public "fear and apprehension" because of his inexperience in foreign affairs.

Ford will also do his stubborn best to label Carter a closet liberal, to link him to the Democrats' big-spending

platform (which was largely shaped by Carter's men), and will cite his naming of Senator Walter Mondale as his running mate as proof that Carter is, at heart, too far to the left for the American mood. The President will rail against the do-too-much Democratic Congress and argue that his 55 vetoes saved the taxpayers "billions."

The goal of Ford's strategy will be to build a coalition of support. Carter's will be to hold on to his. The Georgian will attack Ford for "indecisiveness," claiming that he would be not only a better manager but a more aggressive one. When a Senate committee charged last week that the Medicaid program was



JOHN KENNEDY & RICHARD NIXON SQUARING OFF IN CHICAGO FOR FIRST DEBATE

platform. At air time an estimated 700 technicians, reporters, television executives and candidates' staff members jammed the WBBM-TV building in Chicago. The network said it spent \$633,000 on the production. The producers kept trying to move the candidates closer together than they wished; ABC did best, placing their lecterns just six feet apart.

The chief continuing dispute between the contenders was over the temperature in the studios. Nixon wanted it low to check his tendency to perspire. Bobby Kennedy spoofed the problem at one point by walking into NBC's Washington studio, pulling his sweater up to his chin and waving his arms to increase circulation. For the split-screen debate, temperature was no problem: Nixon had his Los Angeles studio chilled to 58°, a continent away. Kennedy enjoyed a more normal environment.

The on-screen argument between the candidates was less than edifying at

the time and now echoes with irony. A disproportionate amount of time was taken up by the tiny Nationalist Chinese islands of Quemoy and Matsu, some five miles off the mainland Chinese coast. Nixon argued that they should be defended by the U.S. against any Communist attack; Kennedy insisted that they should be defended only if assaulted in a clear prelude to an invasion of Taiwan, some 100 miles across the Formosa Strait. Also argued excessively was the issue of U.S. prestige. Kennedy contended that it had fallen dangerously throughout the world, while Nixon claimed that it was "at an alltime high."

The Nixon who was later to break historic ground by opening personal diplomacy with Communist China argued in 1960 that "the international Communist movement" was a threat to freedom posed by "the most ruthless fanatical leaders that the world has ever

seen." Kennedy sounded almost as much the cold warrior. The election of 1960, he said, might well determine "whether the world will exist half slave or half free, whether it will move in the direction of freedom... or in the direction of slavery." Kennedy deplored the "loss of Cuba" to the Communists and foresaw further Communist gains in Indochina. Nixon, colossally wrong as events turned out, claimed that "the civil war" had ended in Indochina and that South Viet Nam was "a strong, free bastion."

Though the oratory seemed strained, public interest was huge. Estimates vary, but CBS reported soon after the debate that the average number of Americans viewing the four debates was 71 million; that 101 million different individuals watched at one time or other; that nearly 90% of all families with television sets tuned in; and that the average family stayed with each debate for 54 minutes of the hour.

Analyzing the reaction of that vast audience, most of the researchers conclude that Kennedy gained the most, although not necessarily on the merits of his arguments. Radio listeners, for example, sometimes rated Nixon as having done better. On TV, Kennedy was generally seen as the clear winner of the first debate, a narrow loser of the third, while the other two meetings were toss-ups. In the Gallup poll, Kennedy picked up three percentage points after the debates and Nixon one, as the number of undecided voters declined. The net effect was to pull Kennedy from one point behind Nixon to one point ahead. Since Kennedy finally won the election by only 2%, any gain at all was critical.

Whatever the impact in votes, the debate format provides an instantaneous comparison of how two candidates react under the intense pressure of circumstances they cannot control or precisely anticipate. The face-to-face meeting also ensures that millions of voters—who normally would listen at length only to the candidate most likely to please them—find themselves irresistibly tuned into the other candidate as well.



**FORD & KEY AIDES: STUART SPENCER, RICHARD CHENEY & JAMES BAKER**  
*Their first job is to hold their impatient boss in check.*

beset by multibillion-dollar fraud and inefficiency, Carter wondered where the President had been while the mess was brewing: "Sitting in the White House, perhaps, timid, fearful, afraid to lead, afraid to manage."

Carter will try to turn Ford's vetoes against him by stressing "the human suffering" that they have caused. Ford is also guilty of some flip-flops of his own, notably on energy, taxes and support for national parks. As he did in the primaries, Carter will emphasize the fact that he is not a Washington man. He will continue to try to appeal to the hearts of Americans by saying he would work for a government as good as they are. If the Republicans get rough, Carter is ready to respond in kind. Says one senior aide: "He knows how to play that game too."

His worst enemy may turn out to be himself. For one thing, his almost messianic sense of purpose, his Southern populism, his compulsion to serve and his overwhelming desire to be elected could lead him to promise too much to too many—to be, in short, the ardent liberal reformer that Ford will be claiming that he really is. Says Jack Watson, one of Carter's chief aides: "Jimmy is a riskier candidate than Ford because he is so aspirational."

Carter also tends to give subtle, complex, something-for-everyone answers, and occasionally to fudge and hedge his positions. He has taken three different stands on whether or not he would embargo grain sales to the Soviet Union (the last, no embargo unless a national food shortage or some other emergency required it). Ford's campaign manager, James Baker, has coined a word for this Carter characteristic: "Waffability."

A major handicap for Carter in holding on to key components of his coalition could be that he is a "born again" evangelical Christian. Many Catholics, who have not always fared well at the hands of Southern Baptists,

are worried about the fact. So are some Jews, who constitute only 4% of the electorate but are highly important in key states like New York, California and Florida. Republican Senator Mark Hatfield, a deeply religious Protestant, suggests that Carter's brand of evangelicalism also unsettles many other Protestants because it implies that "he has a direct line to God."

**C**arter's background has contributed to the undeniable fact that his support in many areas is squishy. Even at the time of the Democratic Convention, Carter's moment of triumph, Pollster Louis Harris said that the Democrats he surveyed "talked about him as though he were an outsider. They didn't say 'My man got it.' It's difficult to find any real enthusiasm." Admits one Carter staffer: "Unless our 'soft support' firms up, we're in trouble."

George Reedy, Lyndon Johnson's press secretary and now dean of Mar-

## THE NATION

quette University's journalism college, attributes the Democrats' pale, shallow support of Carter to the "Dr. Fell syndrome"—after the old English nursery rhyme: "I do not like thee, Dr. Fell./ The reason why I cannot tell./ But this I know, and know full well— I do not like thee, Dr. Fell."

Like Willy Loman, Jimmy Carter went on the road last week, hoping to be not only liked, but *well* liked. In Atlanta, he met with some 100 prominent Jews who had been flown in by the Carter campaign. He asked for their help and their advice, reiterated his strong support of Israel, and added a new line that roused great applause: "Israel did not cause the Palestinian problem." Carter also did well at a meeting with 400 people arranged by the New York Board of Rabbis, though there was still some holding back. While in New York, he gamely appeared before a group of Italian-American leaders, whose feelings had been rubbed the wrong way by his seeming lack of rapport with ethnics and his use of the pronunciation "Eye-talian" in his acceptance speech. Later, Lawyer Peter Cella, who scheduled the session, said: "One has to respect Carter for his political professionalism. We determined that he showed sensitivity and sincerity. Still, we are adopting a healthy skepticism."

During a stop in Washington, Carter got the bluff blessing of AFL-CIO President George Meany, who sat out the 1972 campaign because he could not stomach George McGovern. "Our candidate," vowed Meany, "will get the full backing of the best political machine in the country." There already were strong signs that labor would deliver for the Carter-Mondale ticket—not only in votes but in voter registration. The well-organized United Auto Workers—1.4 million members across the country—is revving up. Ohio labor leaders are working closely with the Democratic organization. Says Thomas Bradley, presi-

**CARTER WITH MOE, ADVISER CHARLES KIRBO, WATSON, POLITICAL AIDE LANDON BUTLER**







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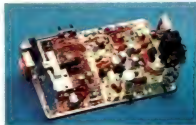
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dent of the AFI-CIO in the Baltimore area. "I'm working my fanny off for Carter because we just don't see any understanding of the economic situation in the Ford Administration."

Carter is going into the campaign with a bright, young and exceptionally well-organized staff that still manages to stay loose, though one aide confesses: "It's just beginning to dawn on me that we're in the big leagues now." Carter gives his people remarkable autonomy, leaving himself free to read, speak, think—and even pose for some photos by Andy Warhol. The Democratic Na-

tional Committee will raise money by selling a limited-edition portfolio of the pictures.

**T**he Mondale and Carter staffs have merged smoothly. Asked how the blending was proceeding, Campaign Manager Jordan replies with a good ol' boy grin: "You should ask Dick Moe [Mondale's top aide] about that. He's down getting my shoes shined right now."

The staff, which will soon number 700 nationwide, is coordinated from the Atlanta headquarters (302 members) by

Jordan, 31, who is waging his own anti-inflationary drive. To scratch up money to hire more people in the field, he has cut salaries by 10% (top pay is \$1,800 a month). Jordan has also tightened procedures that had allowed one spectacular goof—someone turned down an invitation for Carter to address the Steelworkers' national convention last week. After some scrambling, Mondale made the meeting.

Carter's campaign, like Ford's, will be financed entirely by \$21.8 million in federal election funds, plus \$3.2 million from the national committee. That is

## Will McCarthy Matter?

When Eugene McCarthy joined forces with Lester Maddox last week in an attempt to gain inclusion in the crucial TV debates between President Ford and Jimmy Carter, his action was not entirely unexpected. McCarthy, 60, has since his 1968 campaign, made the quixotic gesture his hallmark. Indeed, his challenge over the debates was an outgrowth of his most recent attempt to reach the White House—via an unlikely independent ticket.

To many observers, that foray is the most peculiar yet for the former Minnesota Democratic Senator with the poet's mane of white hair and the cool wit. McCarthy's Washington headquarters currently has all of five staffers: National Campaign Director Jerry Eller, a former administrative assistant to McCarthy, allows as how his best workers in California are "Gary and Michelle um... I don't know their last names. We don't use last names much around here... and then we have, um, Mark and Randy in uh... other states." Even after two earlier runs for the presidency, McCarthy can walk unrecognized down streets in major cities and draws far fewer students at universities than he once did.

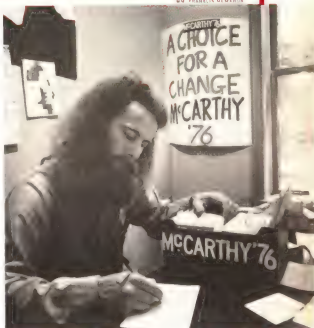
McCarthy insists that his candidacy "is neither a protest movement nor an educational campaign. It is a serious effort to win the presidency." He argues that he has deep appeal to the one-third of the electorate who call themselves "independent," to disgruntled liberals and to the "roughly 60% of the people who didn't vote in the 1974 election." He calls Jimmy Carter "the incarnation of compromise," and to warnings that he might be ruining the Georgian's chances, he responds, "I don't see why the Democrats have to win; they don't stand for anything anyway." Speculating further on his role as a possible spoiler, he asserts, "The issues we are raising are so important that this is a risk we will have to take."

What issues? Last week he described some to TIME Correspondent David

Wood, creating jobs for the unemployed by shortening the work week or work year, controlling inflation by "conditional wage-price controls and by ending wasteful, inflationary spending in the automobile industry and in military and space programs"; regulating the weight and speed of cars to reduce fuel consumption. He insists that he has not stirred much attention because national press coverage has been niggardly. Says he: "We deserve at least as much attention as Walter Cronkite gave to the boy he thought for two days had been raised by apes."

So far, McCarthy's campaign has been mostly a struggle merely to get on the ballot in various states. About a dozen top-flight activists have collected nearly 500,000 signatures and have all but qualified McCarthy on 25 state ballots. McCarthy's lawyers expect to win challenges to election laws in seven states that bar independent presidential candidacies. They have already won legal battles in five other states that have prohibition statutes. By election time, McCarthy hopes to be on between 42 and 47 state ballots (the most troublesome are Arkansas, Georgia and North Carolina).

McCarthy's strategy is to focus on some 20 states—eight in the Northeast, seven in the Midwest and five in the West. His support will draw partly from Carter's liberal electorate and could hurt the Democratic nominee in a close election. A nationwide Gallup poll, taken from Aug. 6 to Aug. 9, gave McCarthy 6% of the vote. That figure could be larger in some crucial Northern states—enough to tilt them out of the Democratic column. In California, a Mervyn Field poll, taken between July 24 and

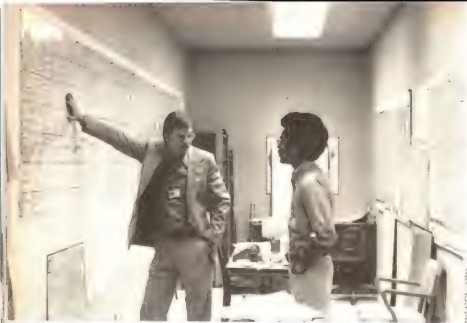


ILLINOIS COORDINATOR BILL MYERS IN CHICAGO

Aug. 3, gave McCarthy 7% of the vote.

More than a few liberals, remembering the lesson of 1968, are shunning McCarthy. Says Jim Wall, Carter's Illinois campaign chief and an ex-McGovernite: "Most of our people recognize that a McCarthy vote is a Ford vote, and they're not going to do that." Some Republicans, however, fear that McCarthy might nab their independent votes. Says Tom Kean, the New Jersey Republican Assembly minority leader and the head of Ford's campaign in the state: "He could take votes away from both sides."

Still, the Americans for Democratic Action has found McCarthy's candidacy sufficiently worrisome to issue a statement noting that "it would be irresponsible indeed for liberals to cast their votes for McCarthy and thus make possible the election of Ford and Dole." Like the cinematic Road Runner, McCarthy is a factor in the race—at least as far as creating a lot of mischief along the way.



WORKERS RICK HUTCHESON & CHRIS EDELEY IN CARTER'S ATLANTA SITUATION ROOM

peanuts compared with the \$42 million that Nixon lavished on his re-election drive. With funds so limited, victory may go to the campaign that has better management and Carter, who has all his budgeting computerized weekly, seems to be far ahead of Ford on this point.\*

Carter will pump \$10 million into advertising, including \$6.5 million on TV spots. He has such trust in his men that he did not even screen the ads that began appearing on CBS last week. The second biggest outlay will be \$4.5 million for the field staff, which already has selected its 50 state coordinators, including former partisans of men whom Carter left dazed in his wake: Scoop Jackson, Mo Udall, Hubert Humphrey

**T**he nerve center of Carter's campaign is a small, windowless chamber on the 24th floor of downtown Atlanta's Colony Square office building. The door, unmarked except for a taped-up piece of white paper bearing the handwritten designation 22-A, is always kept locked. Only six persons have the key. Known as "the situation room," it resembles a combat-ready headquarters. The beige walls are decorated with charts, graphs and maps that reflect Carter's strategy. The barnstorming schedules for the candidate, his wife Rosalynn and their three sons and wives, plus Mondale and his wife, are traced by grease pencils on plastic sheets taped over three large maps of the U.S. Carter's itinerary is drawn in green, Mondale's in orange.

The aim of the plan is much more sophisticated than keeping the ten Carter and Mondale family members from bumping into each other, or making sure

that all major sections of the country receive "a hit"—Carter talk for a visit from one of the campaigners. The schedules are drawn to concentrate efforts on some 20 high-priority states, selected by Jordan on the basis of a mathematical formula that weighs the electoral votes of each, its record of voting for presidential candidates and its potential for successful wooing by the Carter campaign. The list includes California, Illinois, Michigan, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania. Jordan has assigned a highly secret "hit goal" total for each state. A visit by Carter is worth seven points, Mondale is rated at five, the candidates' wives at three, and the Carter sons and their wives at two apiece.

Both Carter and Mondale will travel in chartered Boeing 727s, which will haul enough black boxes of communications gear to run a SAC mission. A computer on Carter's plane, linked to the Atlanta headquarters, will spew out a daily intelligence report on such matters as poll results, position papers, travel schedules and campaign spending. Carter is also keeping a cool eye on Ford's efforts. Says an aide: "We're getting really good intelligence on their scheduling legitimately. I hasten to add."

Material for Carter's appearances—including the all-important debates—is organized by an "issues staff" headed by Stuart Eizenstat, 33, an Atlanta lawyer. Hoping to scotch the criticism that the candidate is fuzzy on the issues, Eizenstat's group is drawing up 40 position papers on subjects including tax reform and Government reorganization. Defining Carter's philosophy, Eizenstat says it tries to combine "the compassion and concern of liberalism and the caution and efficiency of conservatism." Would he call it the "new liberalism?" No indeed, says Eizenstat. "I'd call it Carterism."

## THE NATION

A compulsive planner—and a congenital optimist—Carter is already well along in his plans to take over the White House, risking the opprobrium of being considered too cocky in order to be sure he is ready. Under Jack Watson, 37, another Atlanta lawyer, a staff of twelve is compiling a talent inventory of possible nominees for Cabinet and sub-Cabinet posts. They are also examining the more immediate questions that Carter would have to face upon taking office.

To help him win, the Democratic National Committee will be leading a nationwide, \$2 million campaign aimed at registering at least 8 million of the 48 million eligible but unregistered voters by Election Day. The targeted states closely parallel those on Carter's hit list. Most of the unregistered voters are likely Democrats: the blacks and the Latinos, the poor and the young. The DNC and labor will also be working to ensure that all eligible voters cast their ballots on Nov. 2. A recent survey by Peter D. Hart Associates shows that people who do not plan to vote prefer Carter over Ford by 50% to 15%.

**I**n contrast to the smoothly functioning Carter apparatus, the Ford headquarters is still in a scramble after the long battle to win in Kansas City. A number of basic budget decisions have not been made, though about \$10 million has been allocated for media blitzes. At one point last week, two staffers were separately scheduling the campaign itinerary of Senator Robert Dole. Ford's running mate

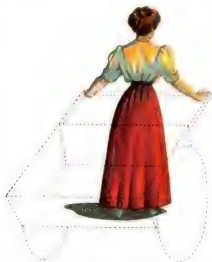
is counting heavily on James Baker, 46, who replaced Rogers Morton as campaign manager. Baker is the man who so successfully wooed the delegates in Kansas City. A wealthy Houston lawyer, he did not become a Republican until 1970 and had no national political experience until the primary fight. He is a cool, low-keyed operator with a talent for getting the biggest bang out of his bucks—"a C.P.A.-realist type," in the admiring phrase of Republican Senator Howard Baker (no kin). Jim Baker will work closely with Political Director Stuart Spencer and White House Chief of Staff Richard B. Cheney.

Their first job will be to hold their boss in check. Says one Ford aide of the President: "His instincts are to travel a lot. He's combative and competitive. To him, politics is a body sport. But he's also rational. He knows what happens when he travels all the time. We've gone through periods when we were really flapping." What also happens, as Ford sadly realizes, is that the more he stumps, the lower his ratings drop in the polls, because of his plodding style.

The President plans to make only about one trip a week out into the country during the first month of the campaign, but to hold frequent press conferences, perhaps one a week, to capture the headlines. He will break loose in the

\*There are other incentives to budget wisely. Under the law, campaigners who spend too much must repay the Treasury, and if the overspending is found to be intentional, they could go to jail for a year and be fined \$5,000.

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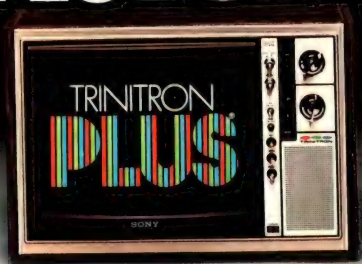
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last two or three weeks of the campaign, when he will travel particularly in the South and such swing states as California, Illinois and Ohio.

While Ford minds the White House, his campaign will be taken to the voters by a group of surrogates dubbed "the advocates," who are Cabinet members, and "the super advocates"—Dole, Vice President Nelson Rockefeller and John Connally. The flamboyant Connally has agreed to run the President's campaign in Texas (26 electoral votes). He will be a lone star on the campaign trail. Says William Greener, a Ford press aide:

"When I'm asked what Connally will be doing, I say, 'Whatever he wants.'"

Dole, who was likened to "a hungry Doberman pinscher" by Reagan Aide Lyn Nofziger, has been almost tabby-cat tame on the hustings so far, even making a friendly phone call to Carter while touring Georgia last week. Indeed, in the duel of the two articulate vice-presidential candidates, Mondale has got off the most stinging—if complex, —crack to date. "The Republican Party has given us two Presidents and three Vice Presidents in two years with only one election."

Until late last week, Ford did not know for sure whether he would get any real aid from Reagan. The former California Governor was noncommittal. "They know where to reach me," he told newsmen. Ford finally phoned him last Thursday, exchanged some pleasantries, and then said succinctly, "I want your help in the campaign." Responded Reagan: "As I told you in Kansas City, I'll do everything I can."

Exactly what Reagan will do remains to be developed, but his professed willingness to work at all should help Ford considerably, signaling his parti-

## Flare-Up Over Abortion

No poll rates it as one of the major concerns of American voters. Yet for those who do feel passionately about it—and millions of Americans of all religious and political persuasions do—abortion has already developed into one of the most emotion-laden and explosive issues of the campaign. Last week it flared again as Jimmy Carter underwent an hour's grilling in Washington by six leading Roman Catholic bishops. By seeming to be rattled by them and expressing a willingness to trim his position, he has guaranteed that the issue will continue to haunt him.

While far from alone in opposing abortion, the Roman Catholic Church in the U.S. is its most visible and vocal foe.

and Carter has been one of the bishops' targets. Acting on the advice of Senator Walter Mondale, Carter sought the meeting with the bishops in an effort to effect a cease-fire. Ever since his victory last January in the Iowa caucuses, he has drawn criticism from right-to-life groups for his refusal to support a constitutional amendment on abortion. These attacks intensified after the Democratic Party adopted a campaign platform that openly rejected amendment attempts to overturn the 1973 Supreme Court decision, which struck down state laws that prohibited abortion during the first six months of pregnancy.

As he faced the six prelates\* in a scene that, despite its greater intimacy, could only be reminiscent of John F. Kennedy's 1960 appearance before Protestant ministers in Houston, Southern Baptist Carter reiterated his familiar position. He believes abortion to be morally wrong and opposes it except in cases where a mother's life is threatened or she is a rape victim. At the same time, he does not favor constitutional amendments that would either ban abortions

or give the states the right to decide the matter. Under the scrutiny of the bishops, however, Carter wavered. He agreed with them that the Democratic platform went too far in saying that "it is undesirable to amend the U.S. Constitution to overturn the Supreme Court decision in this area." Seeking to be conciliatory, he said that he did not rule out the possibility that some anti-abortion amendment that he could accept might later be drafted. He even asked the bishops if they had any proposals. Their reply: It is not the church's business to draft legislation but to protect human life.

Despite Carter's efforts, the bishops remained unimpressed. Archbishop Joseph Bernardin, president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, later declared: "We continue to be disappointed with the Governor's position." He added: "Personal opposition is not enough."

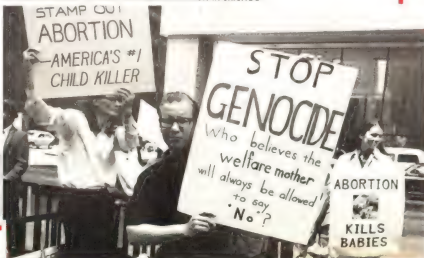
This week President Ford will meet with the prelates in Washington. Actually, the Republican position is only marginally more acceptable to the right-lifers than Carter's. Ford favors a constitutional amendment that would give the states the right to decide to out-

law abortion if they wish. However, since about half the states have already enacted permissive abortion laws, it is improbable that such an amendment would be ratified by the necessary three-quarters of the states.

Ford would probably oppose abortion more strongly if it were not for his wife Betty. She has repeatedly stated her belief that abortion is a matter for a woman to decide with her doctor. Now, after some coaching from her husband and others on the political volatility of such statements, she has retreated a bit. "I do not believe in abortion on demand," she said two weeks ago, but only "when it is necessary," as when a woman has German measles.

To the voters, the candidates' positions on this delicate issue will probably be less important than their candor and consistency. In fact, there is good reason to believe that many Catholics are relaxed about abortion and unlikely to vote for or against a candidate on that issue. According to the latest Yankelovich, Skelly & White poll, Catholics are fairly evenly divided: 48% oppose a constitutional amendment banning abortion, 43% in favor and 9% undecided. Still, it cannot be a comfortable feeling for Candidate Carter to have the nation's Catholic bishops, who nominally represent some 49 million Americans, be publicly critical of him.

ANTI-ABORTIONISTS PUTTING ON A DEMONSTRATION IN CHICAGO



\*Archbishop Joseph I. Bernardin of Cincinnati; John Cardinal Carberry of St. Louis; Terence Cardinal Cooke of New York; Archbishop John J. McGuire of New York; Bishop James W. Malone of Youngstown; and Bishop James A. Rausch, general secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

## THE NATION

sans—zealous campaigners all—to put a shoulder to the bandwagon. Ford has been only moderately successful in signing on former Reagan staffers. Nofziger, who has agreed to do some part-time troubleshooting, says: "I hear an awful lot of our people saying that they will vote for Ford but not work for him."

Like Carter. Ford plans to make much use of his wife and children, who—like Carter's—are formidable campaigners. Because of her fervent advocacy of the Equal Rights Amendment, Betty Ford is a favorite with many women's groups, but her genial manner enables her to fit in anywhere. Last weekend she flew to Chicago to attend a Lithuanian folk dance festival, part of the Republicans' intensive campaign to sap Carter's strength in the North by tapping the Catholic ethnics.

Ford is starting the campaign far behind in the cold arithmetic of electoral votes. Carter naturally has enormous strength in the South. Including Texas,

Pennsylvania, to reach the magic 270. It will take some doing, but Ford claims to be encouraged by the results of private polls in 18 "battleground" states, which include Texas, Mississippi, Louisiana, Virginia and North Carolina, where he thinks he stands a chance of winning. An assessment of the Ford-Carter standings now.

**SOUTH.** Gallup's soundings confirm Carter's optimism: he leads Ford 64% to 28% in the area. The President faces long odds in two big states that he hopes to win: in the primaries, Texans gave Carter 2½ times more votes than Ford and Reagan combined; and in Florida, Democrats outnumber Republicans 2½ to 1. Virginia may be dicey for Carter, but he now has a slight advantage that should be increased by the voter registration drives. Another Ford problem: Southern Republicans were solidly for Reagan, and many still bear grudges.

**MIDWEST.** Gerald Ford is stronger here, but he is no cinch on his own

ing back. The business with the bishops—he has to find a way to take the sting out of that. People are not against him, but they're not yet hot for him either." New England breaks down fairly neatly: Ford is ahead in the top tier of Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine; the more populous bottom rung of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island seems strong for Carter.

**WEST.** Ford is stronger here—and Carter did worse in the primaries—than anywhere else in the nation. The President leads in conservative Utah and Idaho, he is also running neck and neck in Oregon and Colorado and is close to Carter in Washington. Jerry Brown, wooed by Carter and eager to establish his good-soldier credentials for the future, has pledged to stump hard to help the Democrat carry the biggest prize, California's 45 electoral votes. Pollster Mervin Field feels Carter leads by six to eight points, but warns that the margin is soft.

In such a volatile situation, key states could be lost or won by how each candidate performs during the debates. The Federal Election Commission last week gave the League of Women Voters permission to stage the discussions, ruling that the organization would not violate bans on private campaign contributions by putting up \$150,000 to buy TV time. Former Senator Eugene McCarthy, running as a liberal independent, and former Georgia Governor Lester Maddox, the choice of the American Independent Party, have threatened to take court action to stop the debates, arguing that their exclusion is discriminatory.

The first 90-minute debate, on Thursday, Sept. 23, will be on domestic and economic issues. In their second encounter, Ford and Carter will chew over foreign policy and national defense, and the third will be open to any subject. Dates of those sessions have not been selected. Between the second and third meetings, Dole and Mondale will stage the first debate of vice-presidential candidates.

Carter's people do not feel the debates will be crucial. They assume that Ford will do well, and they see the sessions as a chance for Carter to establish himself as well qualified to be President. Says Jordan: "The variable in the debates is not Gerald Ford. It's Jimmy Carter. I can't imagine Jimmy debating Ford and people not thinking, as a result, that Carter is a pretty bright guy. A lot of people don't know if he's bright or not. They just know that he's pleasant and seems nice and honest."

The candidates' basic positions on what probably will be the gut issues of the great debates.

**THE ECONOMY.** On this most important policy issue, the candidates have long taken different positions on the entwined problems of fighting inflation and unemployment. Each has recognized the need to cope with both points



DOLE AND WIFE LIDDY ENJOY SIGN IN NORTH CAROLINA'S CATAWBA COLLEGE. The "hungry Doberman pinscher" has been almost tabby-cat tame.

Kentucky and Virginia, the twelve states could give him 139 of the 270 votes needed to win. In addition, he is counting on Massachusetts (14), Minnesota (10), Oklahoma (8), West Virginia (6), Rhode Island (4) and Hawaii (4), plus the District of Columbia (3)—a total of 49 more. He could then gain the remaining 82 votes he needs for victory by combinations of states where he is strong—New York (41), Missouri (12), Pennsylvania (27)—or has a good chance—California (45), Illinois (26), Ohio (25), Indiana (13).

Ford hopes to pick up about 121 votes in his—and Dole's—Middle West home ground, including states that Carter thinks he can win—Illinois, Michigan and Ohio, for example. Even so, Ford would also have to do well in the Mountain and the Border state areas, crack at least a couple of the Southern states, and capture a pair or more of the heavyweights, such as California and

turf. Illinois is a toss-up. Dick Daley's great Republican-grinding machine and Chicago's blacks are offset by conservative suburbanites and downstaters. Ohio is a toss-up too. So is Michigan, Ford's home state, where local pride may not be enough to overcome resentment over the recession. Bob Dole's Kansas seems as secure for Ford as Fritz Mondale's Minnesota seems safe for Carter. Ford also should carry Nebraska, but Iowa and the Dakotas are anybody's race. The President might score an upset in usually liberal Wisconsin; Milwaukee is heavily populated by ethnic minorities, and the countryside is generally conservative.

**NORTHEAST.** Carter is now ahead, but if he stumbles Ford has a slim chance of capturing the fat bags of votes in New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Explains a top New York Democrat: "The Catholic problem is real for Carter. A lot of union people are still hold-

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simultaneously, but Carter has given top priority to reducing unemployment, and Ford to curbing inflation. Though Businessman Carter champions the free enterprise system and is more of a fiscal conservative than many Democratic politicians, he would intervene more actively in the economy than Ford has done. He seems willing to support limited job-subsidy programs, more spending, easier money, and stand-by wage and price controls should inflation threaten to run away again.

Ford argues that since 1974 his economic policies have cut inflation in half—to an annual rate of 6.2% so far this year. Carter counters that Ford should have acted more boldly so that the economy could have snapped back faster than it has. He argues that more growth is needed to lower the persistent unemployment rate.

**FOREIGN POLICY.** Even Henry Kissinger says that Carter's views are "fairly consistent" with his own—and Ford's. Essentially, Carter differs on three points: he would be less secretive than Kissinger, give greater emphasis to foreign economic policy, and court the Soviets less while paying more attention to the U.S.'s traditional allies, notably Western Europe. He argues that the U.S. should bargain more aggressively with the Soviets, demanding more in return for concessions.

Both candidates favor using U.S. pressure on Rhodesia to move toward "majority" (black) rule and on South Africa to abandon apartheid. Both want the U.S. to work with all parties toward an overall settlement in the Middle East—even Kissinger agrees that his old step-by-step technique is outdated—and both risk offending some Jewish voters by accepting the view that Israel should give up substantial territory that it seized from the Arabs during the 1967 war in return for some kind of international guarantee of its safety.

**DEFENSE.** Carter calls the Pentagon "the most wasteful bureaucracy in Washington" and figures that "improved management techniques" could cut 5% to 7% out of its spending without reducing security. He wants to main-

tain overall U.S. military strength on a par with the Soviets—he speaks of "rough equivalency"—but would somewhat change the composition of the forces. He would scrap plans to produce the B-1 bomber, a \$21 billion program, while maintaining research and development on the supersonic aircraft. He would equip obsolescent B-52s with new, long-range cruise missiles. He would build more Navy ships but concentrate on smaller vessels, like destroyers, instead of carriers and cruisers. He would reduce U.S. forces overseas.

For his part, Ford firmly supports the B-1 bomber program, opposes bringing home any troops, and warns that Carter's budget reductions could be disastrous. Said Ford last week to cheers at a convention of the National Guard Association: "Cutting muscle out of America's defense is not the best way to ensure peace—it is the best way to destroy it."

**BIG GOVERNMENT.** Ford emphasizes that his vetoes are fighting the growth of the federal bureaucracy—as



## Foreign Policy

well as inflation. He endorses the traditional Republican position that the Government should meddle less in the affairs of the citizenry. Carter wants to make federal programs more efficient and "compassionate"—a favorite word in his political lexicon. He vows one of his first missions in the White House would be to root out Washington's "horrible bureaucratic mess" by reducing some 1,900 federal agencies to about 200. Just how he would accomplish this wonder he has not said.

**RACE.** Both Ford and Carter oppose "forced busing," but neither favors a constitutional amendment banning it. Both say they would support court decisions on individual cases, though the President has argued that some federal judges "have gone too far" in drawing up integration plans, notably in Boston. The President has submitted a plan to Congress that would limit busing to three to five years in school districts that try to integrate in good faith. Carter supports "voluntary" busing, and thinks the rights of minority groups can best be



## Defense

protected by putting their representatives on the governing boards of the school systems.

**WELFARE.** Both Ford and Carter favor reforming the haphazard, unfair and inefficient welfare system. The President proposes mainly procedural changes to tighten up the rickety structure. Jimmy Carter would revamp the whole system—taking the burden away from the cities (New York City alone last year paid out \$700 million) and giving it entirely to the federal and state governments.

Carter may well be the candidate who has the most to gain by debating these and other issues with Ford—establishing his stature by head-to-head confrontation—but he is also the man with the most to lose as the campaign begins. If he appears to be too evasive or too extreme, he runs the real risk of making American voters ask the basic question in the election of 1976: Is this man really strong and trustworthy enough to be put in the White House?

Sensing this danger, Carter held a press conference at week's end that reflected, as one senior staff member put it, "a conscious decision to move back toward the center ground." Carter shaded his basic position on the economy, emphasizing the importance of controlling inflation more than reducing unemployment—which, of course, is what Ford has been advocating all along. Carter also promised that "there will be no new programs implemented under my Administration, unless we can be sure the cost is compatible with my goal of having a balanced budget before the end of the term." More specifically, he said "If it requires a delay, for instance, in implementing welfare reform or health care [in order to balance the budget by 1981], then those delays will be there."

Those positions moved Carter toward the center, all right, but they also raised the old question of whether or not he was changing his stands to catch every passing political breeze. At this point in the campaign, it appears that Jerry Ford cannot beat Jimmy Carter—but Carter can.



## The Economy



CARTER GIVING AUTOGRAPH TO A FAN WHO WALKED 900 MILES TO MEET HIM



FORD TALKING WITH CARDINALS IN PHILADELPHIA

## Battling for the Blocs

Though Americans increasingly act independent on Election Day, the traditional racial, religious and socioeconomic voting blocs are alive and well, kicking for attention from the candidates. And they are getting it. Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter are making specific appeals to traditional groups, notably the following five:

**BLACKS.** "Mr. Roosevelt, he was de po' man's friend," goes a Georgia field-workers' song, and for four decades blacks have voted overwhelmingly for the party of F.D.R. and the New Deal. With Carter's popularity among blacks at 83% in the latest Gallup poll, this year promises to be no different. Blacks are drawn to Carter by his fair treatment of them as Governor of Georgia, his Baptist evangelicalism, which echoes their own language of love and trust, the presence of several high-ranking blacks in his campaign, and his support of programs like welfare reform and national health insurance. In particular, with unemployment among blacks running at 19% in urban ghettos, the jobs issue works strongly in his favor.

Even without all that, black voters would still be in his corner. Observes David Dinkins, chairman of the Council of Black Elected Democrats of New York State: "We would have to embrace him anyway when you consider the alternative." Many blacks fear that Ford wants to dismantle the remaining social welfare programs that were set up largely for them during Lyndon Johnson's presidency.

Nonetheless, Ford's campaign aides still pay lip service to the idea of winning black votes. Claims Campaign

Chairman James Baker: "President Ford has made more significant black appointments than any other President, and that gives us reason to be optimistic." Privately, however, Republican strategists foresee a black landslide for Carter.

Even so, Carter could be hurt by the traditionally low turnout of black voters. Four years ago, blacks gave almost 90% of their ballots to George McGovern, but only 52% of voting-age blacks went to the polls, compared with 65% of the whites. About 57% of the country's 15 million black adults are registered, v. 70% of the whites. Through registration drives in black neighborhoods, black leaders intend to sign up a million new voters and increase the black turnout to 60%—or 9 million in all. In this way, they hope to provide Carter's winning margin in the South as well as in some key industrial states and gain a bigger voice in his Administration.

**FARMERS.** Though the country's 1.5 million farmers are generally conservative and Republican, Ford is now about as popular as an early frost among many of them. They and their families make up less than 5% of the U.S. voting-age population, but their views are often shared by millions of other voters who depend on the farmers economically, such as people employed by farm suppliers and food processors. Four years ago, farmers gave Richard Nixon 71% of their votes. But farmers usually vote for the incumbent party only when farm prices are high. Lately, prices have been running below 1975 levels as buyers anticipate bumper harvests of corn and wheat and lower demand from abroad.

for U.S. grain because of good harvests in the Soviet Union and India. Last week, September wheat contracts closed in Chicago at \$3.19 a bushel, down from \$4.13 a year ago.

This spells trouble for Ford, who needs the farm vote, particularly in his Midwestern home base. For one thing, Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz has been urging farmers for several years to expand production. Also, they are still smarting from the embargoes on grain exports imposed by the Nixon and Ford administrations in an effort to stem food price increases.

Ford's weaknesses, however, are balanced by some farm-belt strengths. Butz still enjoys great popularity among some farmers, so too does Kansas Robert Dole. The President has also won points with farmers by urging a large increase in estate-tax exemptions to benefit owners of family farms. Further, Carter lost some standing among farmers two weeks ago for doing a soft-shoe shuffle on embargoes, at first ruling them out, then saying that he would permit them in the event of a catastrophic crop failure.

But farmers like the idea that Carter is a farmer who knows their problems. During a recent Carter swing through Iowa, a farmer whispered to a friend, "It's just like having a family member come home, his being here." Carter told a farm audience, "I understand you, and you can understand me."

**EVANGELICALS.** Catholics and Jews may be wary of Carter's Southern Baptist religion, but it makes him enormously attractive to the country's 40 million evangelical Protestants (30 million of whom are white). They are heavily concentrated in 17 Southern and Border states but also have considerable strength in the Midwest. Conservative

by nature, white evangelicals have tended in recent presidential elections to vote Republican, according to an analysis in the evangelical fortnightly *Christianity Today*. Carter's down-home appeal has scrambled the evangelicals' loyalty, as was demonstrated by their heavy vote for him in the primaries of Illinois, Indiana and other states where they are concentrated.

Some evangelicals are breaking with their tradition of not becoming involved in politics. Argues Harold Lindsell, editor of *Christianity Today*: "We are members of two kingdoms. God's and Caesar's, and we must participate in both." Evangelical periodicals are publishing articles on politics, and at least one has run a full-page ad paid for by a group called Evangelicals for Carter.

Not all the born-again interest in political action will benefit Carter, of course. Paul Henry, professor at the conservative Protestant Calvin College in Grand Rapids, Mich., and Republican chairman in Ford's home county, argues that "Carter has been able to exploit the religious issue because he speaks the language more freely." But Henry and other evangelicals believe that many of the conservative Protestants' votes will eventually go to Episcopalians Ford, who professes to be something of an evangelical and whose son Michael attends the evangelical Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary in South Hamilton, Mass. Ford has wooed the conservative Christian vote for months with the help of Richard Brannon, a Baptist minister and assistant personnel director at the White House.

For all of Ford's efforts, however, a number of experts agree with Jim Wallis, editor of the leftist evangelical magazine *Sojourners*, that "against Carter, he's just going to be out-evangelicalized—in Carter, evangelicals see they've got a real, live one of their own."

**CATHOLICS.** The Boston Roman Catholic newspaper *The Pilot* recently front-paged a photograph of Ford bathed in a halo of light and ran two accompanying articles emphasizing his "cordial" relations with church leaders. It was an unmistakable token of the hierarchy's dissatisfaction with Carter's refusal to endorse a constitutional amendment on abortion.

As Sociologist Thomas Gannon of Chicago's Loyola University points out, "The day in which the bishops could command votes is over." But steady criticism of Carter by the hierarchy is hurting him among some of the country's 33 million voting-age Catholics, whose ties to the Democratic Party have loosened in recent years. He has no trace of bigotry, and attitudes toward Catholics have softened among Southern evangelicals, but many church members remember the rabid anti-Catholicism of Southern Baptists of the recent past.

A recent TIML Yankelovich poll found that Catholics support Carter over

Ford, 48% to 37%; the latest Gallup poll reports that 54% of Catholic voters favor Carter. No Democrat since modern political polling began in the 1930s has won the White House without close to two-thirds of the Catholic vote, though that rule of thumb may not hold now because of the possibility of unusually high support for Carter among normally Republican evangelical Protestants.

Many of those Catholics who also qualify as urban ethnics are suspicious of Carter's background and life-style. They are unsettled by black support for him and fear that he does not understand their problems. Some Italian Americans, who constitute 20% of the 25 million white American ethnics likely to vote, were offended by his failure, apparently through an oversight, to meet with a group of their leaders at the Democratic Convention. To make amends,

make inroads in traditionally Democratic neighborhoods.

**BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS.** From auto workers to postmen, union leaders are endorsing Carter and assigning volunteers to register new voters and pound pavements. Boasts Thomas Bradley, head of the Metropolitan Baltimore Council of AFL-CIO Unions: "I haven't seen such unanimity among different unions since the Johnson-Goldwater election." This year, union help will be particularly valuable because what labor does on its own is not subject to the new federal election spending limits.

Still, Ford's campaign aides profess confidence about winning many votes among the 30 million blue-collar workers. Says John Michels, the President's New England coordinator: "You can be firmly united in giving the marching or-



MONDALE WITH BLUE-COLLAR WORKER WHILE VISITING PLANT IN SYRACUSE  
Benefiting from the greatest union unanimity since 1964.

Carter met with Italian-American leaders in New York City last week and blundered into another apology for his "ethnic purity" gaffe of last April. He was immediately interrupted by City Councilman Louis Gigante, a Catholic priest, who said "We knew what you meant, and you were right."

In contrast to Carter, Ford has less of a culture gap to bridge with the ethnics. Says New York Secretary of State Mario Cuomo, a Democrat and Carter supporter: "Ford is down to earth. He's a jock. Somehow he looks like a Catholic to some Catholics." Still, large numbers of ethnics are angry about U.S. acquiescence to the 1975 Helsinki accord on European security, which ratified the postwar boundaries of Eastern Europe. But many ethnics like Ford's conservative views on social welfare programs and his support for increased defense spending, giving him an opportunity to

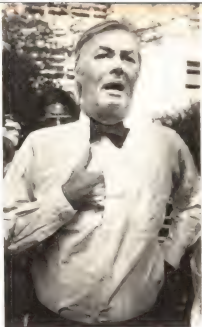
ders, but you gotta have the troops behind you to win the fight." While blue-collar voters favored Carter over Ford by 55% to 32% in the recent Yankelovich survey, 29% of the Carter supporters among them harbored doubts that he is the right man for the job; only 13% of Ford's backers had similar misgivings.

To the extent that blue-collar workers vote on the basis of Catholic or ethnic issues, Ford could benefit. In addition, he hopes to capitalize on the slowdown in inflation. But blue-collar voters seem more concerned about unemployment than inflation. Says Mike LaVelle, the Chicago *Tribune's* blue-collar columnist: "Jobs are really it. Carter doesn't have to do anything but keep pointing out the percentage of unemployed." Thus, the bread-and-butter worries created by the recession stand to produce more labor votes for Carter than all of the pleas of union leaders.





ABZUG CAMPAIGNING AT OKTOBERFEST IN QUEENS (ABOVE); MOYNIHAN IN BROOKLYN



## NEW YORK

# 'Scar Tissue All Over the Place'

**Bella Abzug** He's Nixon's favorite Democrat.

**Pat Moynihan** She stands for the politics of ruin.

**Abzug** He's a political opportunist, an intellectual mercenary.

**Moynihan** No one is good enough for her, unless it's her.

New York's Democrats are doing what comes naturally: cutting one another up in the U.S. Senate primary, ensuring that it will be a tattered, exhausted survivor who faces the G.O.P. nominee (almost certain to be Incumbent James Buckley) in November. With the primary vote set for next week, the two flamboyant front runners—former United Nations Ambassador Daniel Patrick Moynihan, 49, and Manhattan Congresswoman Bella Abzug, 56—are providing most of the bite and bile. The three candidates who appear to be lagging—former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, 50, New York City Council President Paul O'Dwyer, 69, and Builder Abraham Hirschfeld, 58—are running less cantankerous campaigns. Moynihan and Abzug, complains O'Dwyer, are leaving "scar tissue all over the place."

**More Jobs.** Like a jeweler who inspects a gem for the subtlest flaw, New York Democrats quickly spot the slightest deviation from accepted liberal doctrine. For the most part, the candidates give the purists little to worry about. All five call for more jobs in the public sector, passage of the Humphrey-Hawkins full-employment bill, national health insurance, a U.S. takeover of welfare, and federal assistance to New York City—all multibillion-dollar programs that would sharply increase budget deficits or taxes or both. In heavily Jewish New

York City, moreover, the candidates cannot do enough for Israel.

On other issues, the candidates—especially Moynihan—part company. Though a committed liberal on domestic matters, he believes in a strong and assertive America. He accuses his opponents of hypocrisy because they demand all-out aid for Israel at the same time they insist on trimming the Pentagon budget. "Bella has never voted a dollar for American defense," he claims. "Never one single dollar. It is against this kind of demagoguery that I'm running."

Moynihan's combination of scholarly pursuits and public service is almost without parallel in America today. Along with ground-breaking books on ethnicity (*Beyond the Melting Pot*, co-authored by Nathan Glazer) and the Great Society (*Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding*), he served as a White House Counsellor to Richard Nixon and persuaded him to support an income-maintenance program. Later, Moynihan was named Ambassador to India by Nixon and Ambassador to the U.N. by Ford. He was expected to be no great shakes as a campaigner, but he seems to be catching on. With his polka-dot bow tie, his artfully rumpled look, appearing a mite donnish and inevitably puckish, he cuts a rare figure on the campaign trail. But then, no one ever accused him of being conventional. Bubbling over with ideas, he sometimes lets his thoughts race ahead of his prudence. But so far he has not made another gaffe on the order of "benign neglect," the phrase taken from one of his memos to Nixon and gleefully misinterpreted by his enemies. Moynihan was urging a moratorium on harsh racial rhetoric, but his words were twisted to make it appear


he was recommending the neglect of blacks. For this and other dubious reasons, most black leaders in New York oppose his candidacy.

Doing her best to paint Moynihan as a Nixonite in Democratic clothing, Abzug stresses her six years in Congress. She quotes the often lavish praise of colleagues and pulls out a survey showing that she is regarded as one of the most effective members of the House. Following a schedule that would tax the stamina of a Sherpa, she has the advantage of instant recognition. Her floppy, broad-brimmed hat signaling her arrival, she evokes gasps and squeals wherever she goes. "I may not look like a Senator," she likes to say, "but I think I'm what a Senator should look like."

If Bella has seemed less abrasive lately, it is obvious that she still knows how to use her elbows. Asked whether she would support Moynihan if he won the primary, she exploded: "I draw the line at going out and campaigning for a man who undermined the liberal tradition of the Democratic Party. He supported Nixon and Ford policies and has not yet repudiated those policies." Though 33 Democratic county leaders, not all of them Moynihan supporters, called on her to withdraw her statement, she would not budge.

**A Good Day.** Considered third in the contest, Clark is hoping for a rerun of his surprise victory in the 1974 senatorial primary. He still roams the streets in his Hush Puppies and narrow ties, chatting with voters if they are in a mood to listen, blending into the crowd if they are not. "You can't communicate very well on the street," he admits. "All you can say is, 'Hello. Have a good day.'" He has churned out position papers on every conceivable issue to appeal to thinking liberals, but their hearts mostly belong to Bella.

O'Dwyer, with his shock of white hair and Irish brogue, is a familiar



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Surely we will find new oil and natural gas. But demand is growing so fast that new discoveries may not keep pace. Oil and natural gas may be scarce, priced out of sight within our children's lifetime. We must begin looking to the future now with a realistic and definitive national energy policy. A blueprint that defines the rights and responsibilities of consumers, producers, government. A policy that encourages these bodies to develop and use energy resources for long-term economic and environmental well-being of the nation.

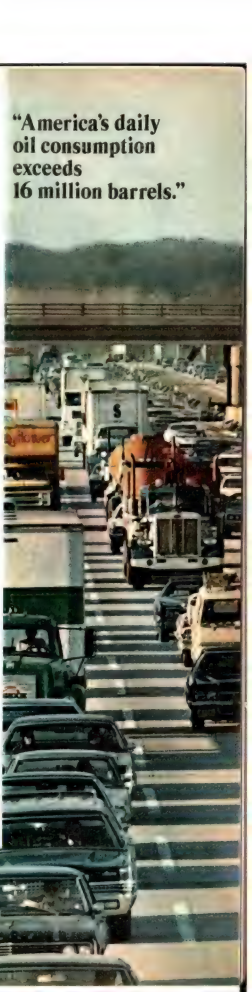
Caterpillar machines and engines are used to mine fuels, prepare plant sites, power drill rigs, build pipelines, restore mined land. We believe a responsible national energy policy is essential to America's growth.

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figure. Nevertheless, he is trying to change his image. Identified as far back as anyone can remember with every possible liberal-left cause, he is casting himself as a "middle-of-the-road ethnic" in the probably forlorn hope of cutting into the Moynihan constituency. For all his radical past, he is also supported by the regular Democratic organization—showing that any renegade who stays around long enough eventually acquires respectability. The question is how much good this backing will do.

Hirschfeld is definitely a self-starter. He has no tangible support, no campaign organization, no issues, but plenty of gall and, more important, lots of money, which he earned from building parking garages.

Bella is considered ahead in the race. She starts with a militant following among New York's Jewish voters, who customarily cast almost 40% of the Democratic primary ballots. But Moynihan has cut into the Jewish vote with his impassioned defense of Israel at the

U.N. Beyond that, he is more popular than Bella among moderate-to-conservative Roman Catholic voters, one of the state's largest voting blocs.

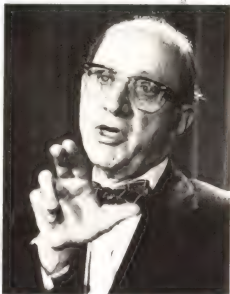
The incumbent, who faces a not-too-serious primary challenge from moderate Republican Congressman Peter Peyser, is no pushover. Thoughtful and engaging, he will base his campaign on the belief that voters are fed up with Government interference in so many aspects of their lives—just what his Democratic opponents want to increase.

## THE FBI

## Beware Agents Bearing Gifts



FBI DIRECTOR KELLEY (ABOVE) & ATTORNEY GENERAL LEVI  
The valance didn't fit; the flowers are wilted.



A \$105 easy chair. A \$95 walnut table. An \$84 clock. A \$60 set of stack tables. Plywood valances worth \$45 but requiring some \$290 in labor to correct faulty installation.

Even if such items had been acquired illegally, they would not add up to much, considering the potential for corruption in official Washington. In fact, the items were merely gifts that FBI Director Clarence Kelley has admitted receiving from some of his subordinates. Nevertheless, one Justice Department official has urged that Kelley be fired for accepting them; another has suggested that he be publicly reprimanded. President Ford has asked for a report from Attorney General Edward Levi, who submitted it at week's end.

Kelley, who is widely liked in the bureau and whose honesty is unquestioned, is expected to survive these revelations of what seems, at most, his bad judgment. But he has been acutely embarrassed, to say the least. "These things are not very serious as matters even for administrative action," one Ford Administration official observed. "But this penny-ante stuff is crippling him."

Kelley's problem is compounded by his handling of more serious allegations of wrongdoing within the FBI. When the House Select Committee on Intelligence

last year aired charges that FBI officials may have accepted kickbacks in the purchase of electronic equipment, Kelley's in-house investigation produced a wishy-washy report claiming that only bad judgment had been involved. Attorney General Levi ordered a new investigation, which apparently is on the verge of indictments.

**Hobby House.** The gifts to Kelley came to light as the Levi-ordered investigation probed the activities of the FBI's exhibit section, which prepares courtroom mock-ups of crime scenes. Dubbed "the Hobby House" or "Free-load Inc." by some agents, it had long provided minor home improvements for top FBI officials. As agents told of this work, John P. Dunphy, the head of the section, agreed to talk freely to the Justice Department about more serious misuse of Government funds and services. In return, the Justice Department permitted him to plead guilty to the minor indiscretion of having his section build a birdhouse for his home. Kelley then had little choice but to fire Dunphy. It was Dunphy who mentioned the Kelley valances to investigators.

Kelley's explanation sounds valid enough. He said that the valances at his Bethesda apartment had been installed by exhibit-section craftsmen without his

knowledge. According to an FBI source, Kelley's wife, who died of cancer last November, had asked Kelley in 1973 to get the valances. Preoccupied, Kelley told his driver, Agent Thomas Moten, to take care of the matter. Having served on Hoover's personal staff, Moten did as he had done in the past: asked the exhibit section to help out. When Kelley asked Moten how much the valances cost, the chauffeur replied: "What the hell, boss, it was only scrap lumber—forget it." Until last week, Kelley did.

The other gifts were presented to Kelley by the FBI's "Executive Conference" on his birthday and on the anniversary of his appointment as director. The Executive Conference consists of 16 ranking FBI officials who chipped in some \$15 each to honor Kelley. Members of the conference last week visited Levi to express "absolute support and confidence" in Kelley. None of them reminded Levi that they had sent the Attorney General about \$30 worth of flowers recently on his wedding anniversary.

Kelley last week gave the bureau a check for \$335 to cover the valances and said he would gladly repay his aides for the gifts if any federal regulations have been violated. Levi has not said what he will do about his flowers, which presumably have wilted by now.



## MIDDLE EAST

## Israel Secretly Joins the War in Lebanon



DEFENSE MINISTER SHIMON PERES  
ISRAELI MISSILE SHIPS ON PATROL



In the darkness of night, Israeli commandos dashed ashore in the Christian-controlled port of Jounieh, some nine miles north of Beirut. As soon as they established contact with the Lebanese garrison, both forces spread out and secured a landing area. A helicopter slowly whirled up from an Israeli cargo ship standing offshore, guarded by a small armada of missile ships. The helicopter, TIME has learned, brought to Jounieh a top Israeli official who spent the night in a series of secret conferences with various Lebanese leaders, then climbed back aboard his helicopter and flew out to sea again, just before dawn.

The official was Israeli Defense Minister Shimon Peres. His brief "invasion" of Lebanon—a nation with which Israel has no diplomatic ties—was the first of four trips between late May and late August. As if that were not extraordinary enough, he was accompanied on his third trip into Lebanon by none other than Israeli Premier Yitzhak Rabin, who held talks with as yet unnamed Lebanese leaders. Out of these negotiations has come a secret but potentially decisive Israeli intervention in the 17-month-old Lebanese civil war. Acting with the agreement of Lebanon's Christian leadership and a moderate group of Moslems, Israel is moving to wipe out forever the Palestinian guerrilla bases in southern Lebanon. As Foreign Minister Yigal Allon said last week, "A situation will be created in which we will not permit any faction to allow the Palestine Liberation Organization to act against Israel from Lebanese regions close to the border."

Beyond that, the Israeli-Lebanese agreement has opened the way to an im-

PREMIER YITZHAK RABIN



portant readjustment in the Middle East lineup, one that could prove to be a genuine turning point in Israel's relations with its Arab neighbors. This marks the first time since the Jordanian crisis of 1970 that Israel is in active league with Arabs in a neighboring state. The arrangement also has, for the moment at least, put the Israelis on the same side as the Syrians, who months ago shifted from support of the Moslems in Lebanon to active intervention on the side of the Christians. The new deal is basically limited to the Palestinian guerrilla issue. It may not last; it may not lead to any broader agreement. But it does suggest at least a possibility for a peaceful settlement of the entire Middle East struggle.

The Israeli intervention already involves the following:

- Israel is maintaining a naval blockade of several leftist-controlled Lebanese ports, particularly Sidon and Tyre, thus keeping arms from reaching beleaguered leftist-Palestinian forces. The Israelis have so far intercepted 15 ships and torpedoed three others that tried to escape their patrols. Of the 15, six were ordered to Haifa, where weapons were removed—and later shipped on to Lebanese Christians—and several terrorists were apprehended.

- Israel is now training a battalion of mixed Lebanese Christian and Moslem troops in tank warfare at an Israeli base on the edge of the Sinai desert, at the opposite end of Israel from Lebanon. When the training is finished, they will be sent back to Lebanon with 38 American-made M-50 Sherman tanks.

- Jerusalem has gained what amounts to *de facto* control over a strip of territory in southern Lebanon, reaching up to the Litani River. Only a few months ago, this strip was so dominated by Palestinian guerrillas that it was known as Fatahland. In addition, the Israelis are trying to arm and train Lebanese villagers in the area to guard against a renewal of Palestinian power. Indeed, that paid off just last week, when four terrorists tried to enter the Christian village of Ayn Ibil near the Israel-Lebanon border. Lebanese residents of the town killed all four in a gun battle.

- The tacit understanding between Israel and Syria has gone so far that Damascus has withdrawn most of its offensive military power from the Golan Heights. Last year the Syrians had five armored divisions standing between Damascus and the Israeli-occupied territory on the Heights. Gradually, those forces were shifted, either to Lebanon



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or to Syria's troubled border with Iraq. Now there is only one armored division, stationed around Damascus, that is in position to ward off an Israeli attack.

The turning point in Israeli policy came last winter when the battered Christian forces in Lebanon seemed on the verge of defeat by the Palestinians and the Moslem leftists. Through contacts among intelligence agents in Cyprus, the Lebanese Christians put in a desperate request to Jerusalem for arms and ammunition. By May—shortly before Syrian army units began moving into Lebanon—a regular supply line from Israel to Jounieh and other northern Lebanese ports was in operation. The materiel included not only ammunition and light arms like the U.S. M-16 rifle but such heavy weapons as armored personnel carriers, Russian 122-mm. rockets and at least 22 T-54 tanks captured in the 1967 and 1973 wars.

In late May, with the arms shipments well under way, Defense Minister Peres made his first clandestine visit to Lebanon. It is not yet known exactly who welcomed Peres on this first mission, but the talks were so successful that he began regular voyages by missile ship. At the third meeting, with Rabin present, the talks moved away for the first time from strictly military matters to political concerns. The main subject: an alliance between Christians and moderate Moslems to combat the Palestinians and the Moslem leftists.

**Strange Visitors.** The arrangement between the Lebanese groups and Israel was reconfirmed only two weeks ago, when Peres made his fourth trip to Jounieh. This time he met with top Lebanese leaders, including former President Camille Chamoun and President-elect Elias Sarkis, both Christians, as well as Moslem former Premier Rashid Karami. The talks went so well that Peres decided to spend the night, sleeping on a cargo ship anchored off Jounieh. The next day the meetings went on with an ever-widening group of Christians and Moslems. "There were some strange visitors to see Peres," said one source, hinting that they included Syrians.

All this secret diplomacy resulted in what may be the most significant change in the Middle East situation since the 1973 war. Israel's role in Lebanon has been expanded from that of arms supplier to limited partner in the anti-guerrilla war effort. The change combines with the almost cordial relationship that Israel now has with Egypt and the slow disintegration of the unity the Arabs enjoyed in the wake of the 1973 conflict. With Libya at odds with both Egypt and Syria, and such oil-rich nations as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait supporting the region's moderates, Israel is no longer facing a solid wall of active Arab belligerency. The greatest losers in the situation, again, are the Palestinian guerrillas, whose hope of leading the way to a restored homeland seems feeble with every passing day.



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## SCANDALS

### The Lockheed Mystery (Contd.)

Like the Watergate scandal from which it once sprouted, the Lockheed scandal seems to have acquired a quality of indestructibility. Even when the charges of corruption are officially denied, they keep reappearing as rumors and innuendoes. Last week, as the scandal once again rippled across Europe, a parliament debated whether to prosecute a prince, a Premier was publicly accused of graft, and a former Defense Minister repeated his assertions that he had done nothing wrong. The only certainty was that the Lockheed Aircraft Corp., the largest defense contractor in the U.S., has admitted spending some \$24 million in bribes overseas. Where it all went, nobody seems to know—at least nobody who is telling.

The impetus for the new gossip and speculation was the 240-page report by a three-man Dutch commission headed by European Court Judge Andreas Donner, charging Prince Bernhard of The Netherlands with "unacceptable" behavior in his dealings with Lockheed. Although the commission found no proof that Bernhard actually received the \$1.1 million that Lockheed allegedly paid him, the Dutch parliament last week somberly debated whether the 65-year-old royal consort should



ITALY'S ANDREOTTI

Targets of a scandal's innuendoes.



GERMANY'S STRAUSS

be prosecuted. A tiny left-wing faction favored prosecution. But Protestant Anti-Revolutionary Party Leader Willem Aantjes summed up the views of many: "History shows the faithfulness of the House of Orange toward The Netherlands. Let us now show the loyalty of Holland toward Orange." The chamber voted overwhelmingly against prosecution.

Before the week was out, however, the Dutch government released new evidence that Prince Bernhard had also lobbied on behalf of Lockheed's chief rival, Northrop Aircraft. A 1971 exchange of letters between the Dutch and West German Defense Ministers referred to Prince Bernhard's attempts to persuade West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt (then Defense Minister) to purchase Northrop's YF-17 Cobra prototype fighter to replace Lockheed's

## THE WORLD

Starfighter. Although the Dutch commission did not fully explore the prince's links with Northrop, several Dutch newspapers are now investigating the matter.

The chastened but hardly cowering Bernhard was surviving all the criticism quite well. Indeed, he plans to attend Prince's Day ceremonies, celebrating the official opening of the Dutch parliamentary year, as usual on Sept. 21. The only difference as he passes through the streets with Queen Juliana in her famous horse-drawn golden carriage, the prince will be dressed in a morning coat rather than in the navy uniform that he has been forced to put into mothballs. Snapped Bernhard to a friend who inquired too curiously about his Prince's Day plans. "You would not have thought that I would go into hiding?" The restrained Dutch reaction to

lished three documents purportedly showing that Lockheed intended to pay \$43,000 in bribes to current Premier Giulio Andreotti. The immediate public and press response was suspicion that right-wingers had planted forged documents in an effort to break up Andreotti's fragile, five-week-old Christian Democratic minority government, which relies heavily on tacit Communist support. Carl Kitchian and Dale H. Daniels, the Lockheed officials who were supposed to have written two of the documents published by *L'Espresso*, denied any knowledge of them last week. The U.S. Senate subcommittee reportedly had received no testimony on Andreotti, who dismissed the charges as "pure invention."

► **West Germany.** The newly opened election campaign heated up last week when the Bonn government an-

nounced that Lockheed intended to pay \$43,000 in bribes to current Premier Giulio Andreotti. The immediate public and press response was suspicion that right-wingers had planted forged documents in an effort to break up Andreotti's fragile, five-week-old Christian Democratic minority government, which relies heavily on tacit Communist support. Carl Kitchian and Dale H. Daniels, the Lockheed officials who were supposed to have written two of the documents published by *L'Espresso*, denied any knowledge of them last week. The U.S. Senate subcommittee reportedly had received no testimony on Andreotti, who dismissed the charges as "pure invention."

Now that Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has said he is sending a Justice Ministry official to the U.S., Strauss is angrily claiming that Schmidt deliberately dawdled in gaining access to the documents, which he says could clear him long before the Oct. 5 elections.

► **Britain.** Hauser, 56, whose previous allegations have been characterized by the Dutch commission as "largely incorrect and based on false premises," struck again last week when he told the London *Sunday Express* of rumors that a Tory Cabinet minister had received a \$1 million payoff three years ago to prevent Air Holdings Ltd. from backing out of its commitment to order 30 Lockheed TriStars (with options for 20 more). Since the TriStar was the one plane that could use Rolls-Royce RB-211 engines—and therefore the plane on which the Tory government's efforts to bail out bankrupt Rolls-Royce's aero-engine program depended—it seems unlikely that Lockheed would have to bribe government officials into backing the purchases. A Labor M.P. called for a parliamentary investigation, but no one else took up the issue.

► **Japan.** Right-wing Lobbyist Yoshio Kodama, a powerful operator at many levels of government and business, was indicted last week on charges of having established a Hong Kong "cover" company to launder illegal funds from Lockheed. Although 19 other top political and business figures, including former Premier Kakuei Tanaka, have been arrested on bribery charges in Japan, Kodama has so far avoided arrest on grounds of illness.

While princes and politicians wade through the debris of the scandal, Lockheed itself is flying high. Despite fears that the turmoil overseas might endanger the survival of the company, which had accumulated \$645 million in bank debts by 1974, the corporation's post-scandal business appears to be thriving—particularly its foreign sales. These amounted to \$1.7 billion in the first six months of 1976, putting this year's sales at the largest annual rate in Lockheed's 44-year history. Overall 1975 sales were \$3 billion, and the corporation's 24 major banking creditors have agreed to a longer-term financing of part of the company's debt, now \$560 million. Says Lockheed's new chief executive, Robert Haack, a former New York Stock Exchange president who took over in February: "We have a handle on things now and we are taking as much probity with us as we know how. I am the man in the white hat and I'm trying to fly right."



WEST GERMAN PILOTS FLYING LOCKHEED STARFIGHTERS OVER MOJAVE DESERT  
Princes and politicians awash in the ripples of Watergate.

the prince's misdeeds stems largely from a deep affection for Queen Juliana, who is popularly regarded as a kindly monarch. But as the Dutch began their recovery from the Lockheed malaise, new outbreaks of the disease began to occur elsewhere.

► **Italy.** The search for "Antelope Cobble" is on again. When portions of a U.S. Senate subcommittee report were leaked last April, they referred to an Italian Premier (code-named Antelope Cobble in various memorandums) who allegedly received payoffs from Lockheed between 1965 and 1969. Speculation about his identity centered on three former Christian Democratic Premiers (code-named Antelope Cobble in various memorandums) who allegedly received payoffs from Lockheed between 1965 and 1969. Speculation about his identity centered on three former Christian Democratic Premiers (code-named Antelope Cobble in various memorandums) who allegedly received payoffs from Lockheed between 1965 and 1969. Speculation about his identity centered on three former Christian Democratic Premiers (code-named Antelope Cobble in various memorandums) who allegedly received payoffs from Lockheed between 1965 and 1969. Speculation about his identity centered on three former Christian Democratic Premiers (code-named Antelope Cobble in various memorandums) who allegedly received payoffs from Lockheed between 1965 and 1969.

nounced that it would send a high Justice Ministry official to Washington in the next few weeks to make final arrangements for access to U.S. documents concerning the Lockheed scandals. This rekindled interest in the allegations that Lockheed bribes had gone to the right-of-center Christian Social Union, the Bavarian ally of the Christian Democrats, and its longtime leader, former Defense Minister Franz Josef Strauss.

Late last year, former Lockheed Lobbyist Ernest Hauser, the man who first brought Prince Bernhard's name into the Lockheed scandals, told Senate investigators that Strauss and the C.S.U. had received at least \$10 million for West Germany's purchase of 900 F-104 Starfighters in 1961. The party and its leader denied the allegations, and Strauss filed a slander suit against Hauser. The quarrel ended what was left of a longstanding friendship that went

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VORSTER & KISSINGER EXCHANGE VIEWS DURING THEIR PREVIOUS MEETING IN BAVARIA

#### SOUTHERN AFRICA

## Kissinger's Mission to Zurich

In the hope of advancing a solution to the growing crisis in southern Africa, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger took to the road again last week. His itinerary: a brief stop in London to confer with British officials, then a flight to Zurich to meet with South Africa's Prime Minister John Vorster for the second time in less than three months. At the close of the three-day talks, Kissinger expected to fly back to London to report to British Prime Minister James Callaghan on the meeting's progress. Next week, said Kissinger's aides, the Secretary might well go to Africa to continue his discussions with Vorster and with other leaders, both white and black.

**Deadline Pressure.** Vorster's immediate concern is unrest at home. Over the past three months, 300 people have been killed and 1,600 injured in the continued rioting and violence within South Africa's black townships. Late last week violence spread to a white area for the first time, as 3,000 nonwhites clashed with police in central Cape Town. Over the long term, the U.S. hopes to persuade South Africa to abandon—or at least drastically modify—its system of apartheid, or racial separation. But for the moment, Kissinger and Vorster will concentrate on two problems on which some progress is possible: Namibia (or South West Africa) and Rhodesia.

There is deadline pressure in Namibia, the onetime League of Nations-mandated territory that South Africa has ruled since 1920 (TIME, Aug. 30). Last January the U.N. ordered South Africa to prepare an indepen-

dence timetable for Namibia by Aug. 31, 1976, or face U.N. economic sanctions. Accordingly, South Africa assembled a constitutional conference in Windhoek, the Namibian capital, and last month the conference agreed on a multiracial interim government to prepare for independence on Dec. 31, 1978. Kissinger rightly called the decision "a major breakthrough" because "the principle of independence has now been accepted." Black African states were still not satisfied, however, because of the two-year delay, the lack of U.N.-supervised free elections, and because the South West African Peoples' Organization (SWAPO), the territory's most powerful political organization, was not represented at the Windhoek conference. Kissinger obviously believed Vorster could be persuaded to make further concessions. Indeed, Pretoria hinted last week that Vorster might be ready to let the U.N. monitor preindependence elections and would drop his opposition to allowing SWAPO to participate.

At his headquarters in Zambia, from which his organization wages a guerrilla war in northern Namibia, SWAPO President Sam Nujoma announced that he might be willing to talk. The nonwhites at the Windhoek conference now hope to install an interim government by next June 30 and will invite SWAPO to take part.

Whether Kissinger and Vorster will be able to make any real progress on Rhodesia is much more doubtful. South Africa has become Rhodesia's only lifeline for its imports and exports, not

#### THE WORLD

to mention the military supplies it needs for pursuing its four-year-old war against guerrillas. So Vorster is obviously in a position to exert strong influence on the Salisbury regime if he should choose to do so. Prime Minister Ian Smith recently rejected a British plan for a two-year timetable leading to black majority rule. But he might be willing, at Vorster's and Kissinger's urging, to submit to another round of talks with black moderate leaders.

Vorster and Kissinger will probably also discuss a British-American plan under which the two countries would, in effect, subsidize Rhodesian whites for agreeing to black rule. Details of the plan are not yet known, but the cost is estimated at \$1.5 to \$2 billion.

Kissinger said in June that he would not meet with Vorster again unless some kind of progress had been made in the meantime. South Africa's U.N. Ambassador Roelofse Botha recently assured him that Pretoria was now prepared to make new concessions. Soon after that, Kissinger dispatched two of his deputies—Assistant Secretary for African Affairs William Schaefele and Undersecretary for Economic Affairs William Rogers—to sound out opinion in Tanzania, Mozambique, Zambia and Zaire. The leaders of those nations presumably approved another Kissinger-Vorster meeting.

**Black Frustrations.** Kissinger is undoubtedly aware of the risk in pursuing the African initiative during a U.S. election campaign. Mindful of the feelings of many U.S. voters, he told a largely black audience in Philadelphia last week that he views apartheid as "incompatible with any concept of human dignity." The rioting in South Africa, he said, was "dramatic evidence of the frustrations of black South Africans toward a system which denies them status and political rights." While Vorster blasted what he called "moral lessons and threats from other countries," he did not call off the Zurich meeting.

He is, after all, under severe pressure at the moment. At home, he has been hurt by the current turmoil. To the north, he is challenged by Marxist regimes in Angola and Mozambique. His strategy now is to reduce interracial pressure on South Africa by finding political solutions in Rhodesia and Namibia—but in such a way that his country's security is not jeopardized. In so doing, he hopes to buy South Africa enough time to fashion a genuine detente with black Africa.

For his part, Kissinger is worried that the Soviet Union and Cuba might again become actively involved in southern Africa, as they were in Angola. He has recognized, if a bit belatedly, the need for the U.S. to push harder on the white regimes in Africa to recognize black political demands before racial violence engulfs the whole southern third of the continent. Thus he and Vorster are in a position to talk business.



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DEFENDANTS' WIVES PROTEST AGAINST TRIAL

## SOUTH KOREA

### A Matter of Conscience

Hahn Suk Hun, 75, a venerable leader of South Korea's Quakers and an advocate of nonviolence, had been imprisoned by the Japanese, the Russians and then by the authoritarian Syngman Rhee regime. Now he knew he faced imprisonment again. And so, each day during his trial, he came to the Seoul courtroom dressed in beige funeral robes to symbolize the death of his freedom—and of Korean democracy. When the four-month trial finally ended, he and 17 distinguished co-defendants were sentenced to terms ranging from two to eight years each. Said Hahn: "These were the best of our people. They have nothing to be ashamed of. It was a matter of conscience."

The matter of conscience occurred last March 1 at an ecumenical Mass in Seoul's Roman Catholic Myongdong Cathedral, marking the 57th anniversary of a Korean uprising against Japanese colonial rule. A group of political and religious opposition leaders decided to use the occasion to issue a "Declaration for the Restoration of Democracy," protesting the iron rule of Park Chung Hee and calling on him to step down.

**Flagrant Irregularities.** Korea's cowed newspapers never printed the declaration, but within a few hours the Korean CIA (KCIA) began rounding up scores of people who had attended the Mass. In due course, 18 people, all Christians, were charged with violating Emergency Decree No. 9, a measure that the Confucian Park promulgated last year, forbidding criticism of his gov-

## THE WORLD

ernment or even of the emergency measure. Among the accused, along with Quaker Hahn: former President Yun Po Sun, 79, who held office from 1960 to 1961; Kim Dae Jung, 50, an opposition leader who lost by a narrow margin in the 1971 presidential election; former Foreign Minister Chyung Yil Hyung, 72, and his lawyer wife, Lee Tai Young, 62.

The trial was hardly impartial. Transcripts of court sessions and even the charges were frequently delayed, thus hampering preparation of the defense. The defendants were not allowed to call any witnesses in their behalf and there were flagrant irregularities in court procedure.

Still, the defendants managed to turn the courtroom into a forum for their cause. In one full day of testimony, Kim Dae Jung, who has likened Park to an "Asiatic Hitler," charged that the regime's repressive policies were playing into the hands

of Communist North Korea. Said he: "Where there is no freedom to defend, how is it possible to fight Communism?"

One of the trial's most emotional moments occurred when the frail former President, Yun Po Sun, took the stand. "At the age of 78," he said, "my interest is not in making a political comeback, but only in seeing democracy restored in my country. The end of my life is drawing near every day without my seeing any sign of improvement at all in Korea." Outside the courtroom, the defendants' wives and friends gathered daily on a nearby street corner, wearing large crosses embroidered on their clothes.

After the harsh sentences were handed down, the defendants promptly filed appeals last week and said they

would take the case all the way to the supreme court if necessary, a process that would take at least a year. Meanwhile, many of them will remain in prison.

In Washington, which is providing Park with \$428.5 million this year and a 41,000-man U.S. armed force to keep the Communists at bay, the trial was viewed somewhat ambiguously. Last June, Congress passed legislation directing the Administration to protest "in forceful terms" within 60 days against the Park regime's persecution of dissidents. Last week an Assistant Secretary of State called in the South Korean ambassador and handed him a note saying that the Congress "views with distress the erosion of important civil liberties." State Department officials said, however, the note was not deliberately timed to coincide with the court verdicts. It was simply that the 60 days had expired.

## PHILIPPINES

### Operation Scorpio

With his customary flair for the political spectacular, Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos last week organized a remarkable lineup of prisoners at Fort Aguinaldo, an army base outside Manila. There stood 25 ranking members of the Philippine Communist Party and its military wing, the New People's Army (N.P.A.), including nine of the party's 14-member Central Committee. Almost all of the prisoners had been taken into custody since January. Their collective appearance at Fort Aguinaldo was an awesome display of progress in Marcos' effort to end the Communist guerrilla movement that has survived, despite great difficulties, ever since the Philippines was granted independence from the U.S. in 1946.

The star prisoner—and the object of an intensive man hunt code-named Operation Scorpio—was the most recently captured: Bernabe Buscayno, 32, alias Commander Dante, a veteran guerrilla

MARCOS (RIGHT) TALKS WITH BUSCAYNO AFTER GUERRILLA LEADER'S ARREST



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Hatchback (4-Speed)	\$3189	42	32	36
(Hondamatic)	\$3349	33	23	28
Wagon (4-Speed)	\$3419	37	26	30
(Hondamatic)	\$3579	32	24	27
5-Speed (All states except Calif.)	\$3469	47	35	40
Hatchback (Calif. Model)	\$3469	44	31	36
Avg. Sedan/Hatchback (4- & 5-Spd.)		43	32	36
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who rose from a peasant background to become commander in chief of the N.P.A. He had been arrested only the week before—with humiliating ease—while asleep at his family's rural home. Buscayno was visiting his two-week-old daughter (named Malaya, "free") and his wife Milla, who had been released from detention in June and apparently served as an unwitting lure. Army soldiers closed in at 3 a.m. and Buscayno surrendered without a fight. He walked out to be photographed with smiling army officers and even Marcos himself, who arrived to interrogate the prisoner personally. "He said the society is only for the rich," Marcos later reported to TIME Correspondent William McWhirter. "I admitted there were still inequities but that we were trying to remove them."

Many Filipinos doubted that Buscayno, a Communist guerrilla since the age of 16, could have been caught in such a simple, old-fashioned trap. To them it seemed more likely to have been a typical Filipino maneuver: *lutong macao*, or precooking. Dante might have consented to his own capture because of tension within his movement between younger urban activists and rural guerrillas like himself.

In any case, Operation Scorpio, plus the earlier arrests, was a triumph for Marcos as well as the greatest setback for the Communists since the breakdown of the old Huk guerrilla movement in the mid-1950s. The military announced that the big roundup would continue, its chief target now being the Communist Party's chairman and shrewd ideologue, José Maria Sison, 37.

**Dubious Charges.** The captured Buscayno will go on trial this week before a military tribunal—along with his second in command in the N.P.A., Victor Corpuz, and Benigno Aquino Jr., the former Liberal Party leader and presidential candidate, who has been confined for the past four years on dubious charges that he was an N.P.A. leader. They will almost surely be convicted, but they stand a good chance of a presidential pardon if they make confessions and come over to the government side.

Though the government has been able to harry the N.P.A. by military force, the rebel movement still shows signs of considerable strength. Over the

\*Aquino has been brought before military tribunals three times since his arrest, but each time the case was postponed when he eloquently rejected the rights of Marcos' martial law regime to try him.

past four years, N.P.A. activity has spread from its original coastal stronghold of Isabela in northern Luzon all the way through the rural areas of the Eastern Archipelago Provinces and even to parts of Mindanao, which is also troubled by the far larger rebellion of Muslim separatists. Though the N.P.A.'s armed strength may be no more than 2,000 to 3,000, its political activists, drawn largely from educated urban youths, are probably far more numerous. They have established effective, well-concealed cells in such places as the squalid squatter areas of Manila as well as among low-paid farm laborers.

In the long run, the growth of Communist political influence poses a greater danger to the Marcos regime than the N.P.A.'s ineffectual military wing. At the same time, part of Marcos' problem is growing unrest—particularly among university students and the Christian churches—over the continuation of martial law, with its suspension of civil liberties. The government plans a referendum next month on the retention of martial law. Two previous referendums in 1973 and 1975 indicated yes by some 90%. This time the results are widely believed to have been equally *lutong macao*, or precooked.

## Angry Eruption in Notting Hill

The annual two-day carnival in Notting Hill has become something of an end-of-summer rite for thousands of Londoners who flock to the racially mixed area to hear West Indian steel bands and dance to calypsos through the narrow old streets. Last year, however, there were also some 800 complaints of theft, so Scotland Yard decided to send in 1,600 bobbies, five times as many as in 1975. To many revelers, the huge police presence, complete with helicopter chuffing overhead, was an irritation. But many police, too, seemed irritated at having to spend their holidays in crowd control, and they began officiously ordering people around. So when a scuffle broke out between police and a suspected pickpocket, fighting quickly spread. Young blacks bom-

barded the police with rocks, bottles and beer cans. The police seized garbage-can lids for protection, then counterattacked with nightsticks. When it was over, some 400 were injured—325 of them police. It was the worst such conflict in nearly two decades.

Britain now has some 1.8 million nonwhites—a heterogeneous collection of West Indians, Indo-Pakistanis and Africans—crowded into urban ghettos and suffering an unemployment rate three times the white rate. The morning after the Notting Hill riot, most observers agreed that it was not so much a battle between blacks and whites as between tough black youths and white police. But the *Times* added: "It is a warning of further troubles to come if the right lessons are not drawn now."



VICTIMS BEING HELPED AWAY



POLICE REINFORCEMENTS ADVANCE UNDER STORM OF ROCKS & BOTTLES





"That man doesn't look like me at all!" snapped **Katharine Hepburn**, 66, dismissing her double from the sets of *Olly Olly Oxen Free*. A family-style adventure story in which she plays an eccentric lady junk dealer, the film has her working with Movie Novices Kevin McKenzie and Dennis Dimster, both eleven, an English sheep dog named Obie and a 70-ft. gas-filled balloon. Miffed by the idea of a male stand-in for the action scenes, she has also been doing her own acrobatics, which have included dangling 100 ft. above ground from the balloon's anchor. In between scenes, she has even found time to pose for a cast picture by an old friend: Susie Tracy, 44, daughter of Kate's longtime leading man **Spencer Tracy**.

That beauty in the chic safari hat and Paris finery is Actress **Ursula Andress**, 40, on location in Rhodesia, for her new film *Safari Express*. A comedy spoof of 1950s jungle pictures, the movie shows Ursula as a geologist's assistant who karate-chops her way back to civilization while musing nary a hair. On the screen, that is. "I worked like hell," protests the actress. "All that fighting! I think I am going to send them a bill as a stunt woman." After similar exertions last year in a sister film (*African Express*), Andress just might fall victim to superwoman typecasting. "The

A WELL-DRESSED ANDRESS IN AFRICA



KATHARINE HEPBURN WITH OBIE &amp; CO-STARS KEVIN MCKENZIE &amp; DENNIS DIMSTER

producer casts me the way he wants to see me," says Ursula. Besides, she laughs, "I am a superwoman."

The long fall of Ohio Congressman **Wayne Hays** finally concluded in a whimper. Charged last May with using his office payroll to keep **Elizabeth Ray**, 33, as his mistress, the 14-term Democrat had lost his House Administration Committee chairmanship, was hospitalized in June after an overdose of drugs, and in August announced he would not run for re-election. Last week the Congressman completed his slide down Capitol Hill with a terse, one-sentence letter of resignation. Hays' departure will spare him public examination by the House Ethics Committee, which immediately dropped its probe into how Ray earned her \$14,000 salary, but he still faces legal problems over the matter from a

grand jury probe and a Justice Department investigation. As for Liz, she insisted that she never would have gone public with her relationship with Hays had she known it "would mushroom into such a gigantic thing."

"We're kind of alike, and I think something is really there between us," purred **Faye Dunaway**, 35, considering her newest co-star. Teamed with Hollywood Veteran **Bette Davis**, 68, Faye plays the title role in *Sister Aimee*, a *Hallmark Hall of Fame* production based on the life of California Evangelist **Aimee Semple McPherson**. Davis, who unsuccessfully sought a Sister Aimee movie role some three decades ago, belatedly settled for the part of McPherson's domineering mother on the mid-November TV show. No hard feelings, though. "Good God, Bette's been a star since she was 17, so she's far beyond that kind of professional jealousy," observed Dunaway. "She was very generous and warm to me."

FAYE DUNAWAY &amp; BETTE DAVIS BRINGING A MOTHER-DAUGHTER ACT TO TELEVISION





SALLY SITTING, BURT STROKING, & HAPPY LICKING HIS CHOPS OVER A NEW JOB

There were dog-eared screen magazines, antique baseball cards, some Beatles T-shirts—and one genuine pre-war space hero at New York's Second Annual Nostalgia Convention. **Buster Crabbe**, better known as fearless Flash Gordon since he filmed the 40 or so movie-serial episodes in the 1930s, was the top attraction at the three-day gathering of memorabilia hounds. A taut-looking 68 and the author of a new physical-fitness book called *Energisties*, Crabbe now pushes prefabricated swimming pools in Arizona, but he would not mind getting back into the flicks. Yet today, he says, "I'd rather play a bad guy than a hero—it would be more of a challenge." Though his *Flash Gordon* series still survives in TV reruns, Crabbe never bothers tuning in on his old star trips with Dale Arden, Dr. Zerkov and mean Emperor Ming. "I don't have to," he says, flaunting his own credentials as a nostalgia buff. "I have the whole series at home. I can watch them whenever I want to."

A British longshoreman blew 192 smoke rings from a single cigarette puff. A civil servant played his accordion nonstop for 26 hours and 20 minutes. One 15-year-old gulped down 19 pickled onions in two minutes. They were all contestants in Cosmorama, a Screwball Olympics held in Lingfield, England, where the equivalent of a gold was winning an entry in the *Guinness Book of World Records*. The show's **Bruce Jenner** was **Tory Ray Hatter**, 25, vice chairman of the Young Conservatives and new holder of the world record for non-stop political speeches—29 hr. 12 min. 30 sec. of peroration on codfishing, women's rights and other matters. "I like most politicians," gasped Hatter after his champion performance. "I like to get my name in print." Said a *Guinness* spokesman sagely, "Mr Hatter should go far in his chosen career."

One slightly spaced-out contestant claimed he had an invisible dog, then paraded across the stage with only a leash

in his hand. Apart from that, more than 450 pooch owners turned up in Atlanta last week to audition their dogs for a role in **Burt Reynolds'** next movie, *Smoky and the Bandit*. The judge was Burt himself, who will play the bandit opposite **Sally Field** as a hitchhiker and **Jackie Gleason** as a Texas sheriff who's trying to track him down. Burt's choice as the canine co-star was a two-year-old basset hound named Happy. "I picked the one that looked best in the bathing-suit contest. He was also the most congenial." How's that again, Burt? "I didn't think ego would be a problem in our working together." Reynolds explained. "His legs are shorter than mine—and no one's legs are shorter than mine."

Fashion freaks will soon see her in some fancy *Vogue* photographs by **Richard Avedon**. TV viewers, however, will catch Actress **Deborah Raffin** with her hair down and plastered top-to-toe in Mississippi mud. Raffin's dive was all for the sake of *Nightmare in Badham County*, a TV movie in which she plays a prison-farm escapee on the run through the swamps. Raffin, 23, who last starred in a Hollywood turkey overgenerously titled *Once Is Not Enough*, says the goopy assignment was "the best role" she had ever been offered. "It gave me a chance. I hope, to show some depth and emotion." And the mud? "It was worth it."

RAFFIN MODELING MISSISSIPPI MUD



CRABBE TELLING CONVENTIONEERS ABOUT HIS OLD FLASH GORDON DAYS (INSET)



# For '77, an Amazing Shrinking Act

As General Motors goes, so in the long run goes the rest of the auto industry—but what happens in the short run can be unpredictable. Especially in the new model year about to begin. For 1977, GM is putting on an amazing shrinking act: over the past two weeks, it has unveiled a gallery of standard-size cars that on the average are nearly a foot shorter and 700 lbs lighter than their 1976 counterparts. Ford and Chrysler by contrast are making only minor changes, and ailing American Motors is actually making its glassy Pacer longer.

So the stage is set for a bruising grille-to-grille marketing battle. Superficially, GM seems to have picked an

For Detroit, each percentage-point gain in an auto company's share of the market translates into some half-billion dollars in added revenues. For the national economy, whether or not the automakers achieve the record 1977 sales that GM officials are predicting could go far toward determining if the recovery, now slowing, can pick up speed again next year.

In the years beyond 1977, there is no question how the battle over car sizes will come out. Whatever their marketing analysts—or even their sales charts—might indicate, Ford, Chrysler and American Motors eventually will have to adopt GM's "down-sizing" strategy in order to comply with federal law

of parts and technical data among various name plates made so big a change possible. GM has a jump on the competition in complying with federal mileage requirements. A sampler of its new lineup.

► **Cadillac.** All other models join the already down-size Seville and measure from 8 in. to 12 in. shorter than last year. Though they are also 3.5 in. narrower, their headlights are positioned farther apart to make them look as wide as ever. Standard engines are no bigger than 425 cu. in., in lieu of the brooding-naguan 500 cu. in. of 1976.

► **Buick.** The LeSabre sedan is 665 lbs. thinner than in 1976. Fully 437 lbs. have been pared off the body. 135 of

PHOTO BY TIM BILLY WONG



GM MODELERS AT WORK ON CLAY MOCK-UP OF CHEVY IMPALA  
A grille-to-grille battle, with economy as the referee.

odd year to proclaim that less is more. During the 1976 model run, consumers, who had been choosing smaller cars ever since the late 1973 Arab oil embargo, unexpectedly shifted back to the bigger models.

Will GM, by trumpeting gas-mileage savings on its smaller cars, be able to reverse the trend and add to the 47% of car sales that it won in the 1976 model year? Or will the other companies make what Ford officials call "conquest" sales to drivers who bought GM cars in the past but do not want smaller cars now? The question is complicated by price increases of almost 6%, which will raise the price of an average GM car to about \$6,000—a shocking figure to the motorist who bought his last car three years ago and has been out of the market since. (Though other automakers have not yet announced their prices, they undoubtedly will follow GM by the time their new cars go on sale in October.)

The stakes in the battle are titanic

That law, the Energy Policy and Conservation Act, requires U.S.-made autos to get an average 20 m.p.g. by 1980 and 27.5 by 1985.

**Electronic Gizmo.** The most obvious step was to make cars shorter and lighter. Trimmer cars can be driven by smaller engines that drink less gas per mile. Technology was also refined. Emission-control devices, always the enemies of fuel economy, were built in, not slapped on, making for more efficient engines. Ignitions were more precisely tuned. GM's Delco-Remy division developed an electronic gizmo called MISAR, which monitors driving conditions and adjusts ignition-spark timing for optimal performance (for now, only the Oldsmobile Toronado sports the device at GM, although Chrysler has installed a similar device on several models). By 1976, the GM fleet average had risen to 16.6 m.p.g. With the 1977 models it will jump 10%, to 18.3 m.p.g.

Now, with 44 big-car models made more fuel efficient (the interchangeability

them by substituting aluminum for steel in bumper reinforcements).

► **Oldsmobile.** In 1974 the Olds 98 managed only 7.6 m.p.g. on city streets and 11.2 m.p.g. on the highway. In its 1977 incarnation, with a smaller engine, it posts marks of 16 and 21 m.p.g., respectively.

► **Pontiac.** New four- and eight-cylinder engines, incorporating the latest in anti-emission and fuel-economy technology, grace both the newly shorter standards and small-size Pontiacs. These light cast-iron engines will be used by other GM divisions in the future.

► **Chevrolet.** The full-size Impala and Caprice, 11 in. shorter than last year, are 4 in. narrower to create a box-like shape. No longer is a 350-cu.-in. V-8 standard for both models. Buyers now have three choices: the 350, a 305-cu.-in. V-8 or a gas-stingy 250-cu.-in. six-cylinder engine. New Chevies have terminals for connecting with a special diagnostic device, on hand at GM dealerships, that can check up on 60 automotive functions.

None of GM's innovations comes



GENERAL MOTORS CADILLAC



AMERICAN MOTORS PACER

cheap. By 1980, the company will have spent \$15 billion on design and retooling over a seven-year period. GM Chairman Thomas Aquinas Murphy contends that increases in other costs "will add substantially more to the cost of the average 1977 GM car than we will recover" by raising the prices of the cars. Labor, he says, has become 9% more expensive in the past year, and "aluminum, copper, lead, glass and plastics are all up." Last week's decision by steel-makers to postpone or cancel price boosts scheduled for October (see following story) will probably have little effect on the automakers' pricing plans.

Murphy does not expect the price boosts to hurt sales. He thinks that 1977 new-car sales could better the 1973 record of 11.4 million, and expects GM to increase its market share. Car prices, he argues, have risen no more drastically than the prices of many other consumer goods. He also points out that the auto

is 10 in. shorter this time to compete with the snazzy intermediate Chevrolet Monte Carlo and Chrysler Cordoba. A new LTD II replaces the Ford Torino in the intermediate camp, where cars sell for less than GM's barely larger full-size cars, in the hope of winning over former GM drivers.

Chrysler lost \$260 million in 1975 and so would not have had the money to make extensive changes this year even if its officials had wanted to. They did not, back solidly in the black, thanks largely to the success of the intermediate Cordoba and the compacts—Plymouth Volare and Dodge Aspen—Chrysler is tinkering with the three only a little. Volare, for example, gets a "super six" engine that is 20% more fuel efficient than its old 318-cu.-in. V-8.

American Motors, whose best hope, the squat Pacer, was a terrific sales disappointment, lost \$43.2 million in 1975. It has stretched the Pacer 4 in. to make

back-seat leg room. Next spring Ford will trot out a pint-size Lincoln called the Versailles and in another year will be bringing over its subcompact Fiestas from Europe (TIME, July 12). In 1979 both Ford and Chrysler are expected to introduce new full-size models no larger than their 1977 intermediates. American Motors has a subcompact even smaller than the Gremlin on the boards, probably for 1979.

The amazing shrinking act will continue through the early 1980s. "Unless some miracle occurs in material or technology," says William Luneburg, the outspoken president of American Motors, "the only thing we can do to increase mileage to these high levels [i.e., the government-ordered 27.5 m.p.g. by 1985] is to take the size of the cars down." By the early 1980s, all the current car classifications—from luxury car down to subcompact—will almost certainly describe autos one category smaller than now. A few very big cars will probably always be around to indulge the ostentatious or the nostalgic. But within a decade, the obituary of the fin-festooned living room on wheels, so often written prematurely during the oil embargo of 1973, probably will finally become fact.

FORD CONTINENTAL MARK V



CHRYSLER VOLARE



CHRYSLER CORDOBA



buyer who in the past got a 36-month loan can now commonly borrow for 42 or 48 months.

Perhaps—but what if car buyers feel gyped because GM is offering them a smaller car for a bigger price? GM stresses that its new cars are just as roomy inside as last year's. Still, customers may continue to equate size, weight and length with comfort. All in all, GM is placing a heavy bet on its new cars—a bet that Ford in particular, for the past five decades a restless second fiddle, is raring to take.

"We have the widest choice of car sizes available," says William Benton, general manager of the company's Ford division, appropriating a boast long made by GM. "There are customers who do not want to compromise the six-passenger comfort and the many other attributes of the family-size car. We are going to continue to meet this sizable market."

The Ford LTD is as big as ever, and a new, luxurious 1977 Continental Mark V is as long (but not as heavy) as its predecessor. Thunderbird, however,

it a station wagon. Gremlins and the intermediate Matadors are newly sweetened by having some of last year's options as standard equipment.

In their internal struggle for sales, the domestic four have little reason to worry that cheap imports will walk off with the prize. Foreign cars took 18% of U.S. sales in 1975, but are getting only 13.8% now. What is more, nearly all the foreign automakers last spring were targets of complaint to the Treasury that they were dumping cars in the U.S.—that is, selling them for lower prices than in their home countries. To escape a tariff increase, most of the foreign makers agreed to raise their U.S. prices—by coincidence or not, about as much as Detroit's prices will go up.

Whoever wins the great scrap of 1977, all the automakers are already at work down-sizing their cars for 1978 and later years. GM will reduce the size of its 1978 intermediates, then its 1979 compacts. The smallest cars will have front-wheel drive to eliminate the transmission-train "hump" that decreases



CADILLAC FRONT-END WEIGHTS: '76 (TOP), '77





## PRICES

### Steel Steps Back

In a time of persistently rising prices, last week's announcement by U.S. Steel Corp. had a man-bites-dog quality. The company, which usually sets steel pricing patterns, had announced three weeks ago that on Oct. 1 it would raise the price of sheet steel, which is used in a wide variety of consumer goods from autos to washing machines, by an average of \$10 to \$15 a ton. U.S. Steel's competitors quickly followed its lead. But then Armco Steel Corp., in an extraordinary move for the club-by-steel business, broke the united front and said it was deferring its planned increases until Jan. 2. Last week U.S. Steel reluctantly canceled its boost, and the rest of the industry fell into line.

Armco cited "a lack of support for the Oct. 1 effective date by some competitors." As translated by industry sources, this meant that Chairman William Verity Jr. had become irritated when he learned that some steelmakers were making deals to ship flat-rolled steel to selected customers at the old prices after Oct. 1. Verity's move immediately put pressure on competitors to scrap plans for an increase and thus keep pricing policy out in the open.

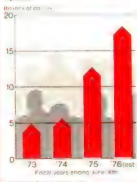
**Good News.** There is some doubt whether the market for steel is strong enough to support a new price increase. The attempted hike would have been the third in the past year. U.S. Steel, for example, lifted prices on sheet products by 14% last October and another 6% in June. At the same time, the industry is faced with weakening demand for flat-rolled products. Though automakers' sales are booming, purchases of appliances and other household goods are lagging.

The rollback was one of two pieces of good news for Ford Administration inflation fighters last week. They also were able to report that wholesale prices, after three months of small rises, declined in July by .1%, due mainly to a drop in farm prices. White House officials attributed the steel price cancellation to market forces and insisted that no pressure from Washington was exerted on the steelmakers.

The cancellation will head off prospective price increases on appliances, air conditioners, mobile homes and other products. The Speed Queen division of McGraw-Edison Co., for example, dropped plans to raise the price of its washers and dryers by \$10 to \$20, and Magic Chef put off a proposed price hike on ranges. Whatever anti-inflationary benefits result could be short-lived, however. Few analysts are betting that steelmakers will not try for another boost before the year is out. Says one Wall Street expert: "The first half-hour that they feel the demand is there, they'll try again."

## SOARING JOBLESS BENEFITS

Total benefits paid to the unemployed through the federal-state unemployment insurance system



BY FRANK R. MCGRAW



ILLINOIS FRAUD TEAM DIRECTOR MARY ELLEN GORNICK

## LABOR

### Cheating on Unemployment

For millions of Americans, collecting unemployment checks has become as routine as visits to the water cooler when they were working. Indeed, in many cases compensation checks have been handed out too routinely. They are going not only to people who deserve and desperately need the money, but also to some who do not. Among them people who work part-time but collect jobless benefits, others who willfully evade work, and still others who make claims under false names and Social Security numbers.

Such cheaters are a small minority of the 10.2 million Americans who got jobless checks during the fiscal year just ended from individually run state compensation programs. But they are throwing an added burden on a system that is under severe strain. Despite a year of economic recovery, legitimate joblessness is still high. Last week the Government reported that 7.5 million people, or 7.9% of the labor force, were out of work in August, v. 7.8% in July. Total payments to the jobless swelled from about \$5.6 billion in fiscal 1974 to an estimated \$18.3 billion in the 12 months ended last June 30 (see chart). In 21 states, unemployment funds have run dry, forcing the states to borrow \$3.1 billion from the Federal Government to maintain the flow of money to recipients for as long as 65 weeks.

**Harried Officials.** The very volume of claims has encouraged abuses. In Michigan, for example, the number of unemployment claims increased from 64,000 three years ago to 560,000 last year. To handle them, recalls Employment Security Commission Director S. Martin Taylor, the state had to set up temporary claims offices "in union halls, 15 state armories and almost any other

place large enough to serve throngs." Harried officials obviously could not give each case anything like the scrutiny it deserved.

It is impossible to pinpoint the number of cheaters who have slipped through in Michigan and other states. A Georgia official estimates that at the peak last year 15% to 20% of jobless-benefit payouts in the state were going to people who had no crying need of assistance. But that would include housewives who worked for a while, then quit and legally collected full unemployment benefits. Most estimates of outright fraud now range nationally from 2% to 5%. The Federal Government's latest figures show that less than 1% of claims are made illegitimately—but that counts only the minority of cases in which fraud has been proved.

A few cheaters honestly do not think that they are doing anything wrong. They believe they have paid into the unemployment compensation system, and thus are entitled to get their own money back. That is a falsehood, the system is funded by a tax on employers and by federal subsidies.

The great majority of cheaters know exactly what they are doing. They are wily and skilled in the law and its many loopholes. They know how to take advantage of unemployment officials who are inclined to give jobless people the benefit of a doubt. Their justification to themselves is that the economic system that resulted in their unemployment somehow owes them a living. Says Edward Kelly, a Massachusetts unemployment official: "It [unemployment compensation] is a fringe benefit they feel they should take advantage of."

The hardest kind of cheating to detect involves collusion between employ-



**"I don't know how it works.  
I don't have to know how it works.  
That machine already  
saved us \$44,000  
and that's good enough for me."**

What we have here is a modern miracle of applied science and sound business sense.

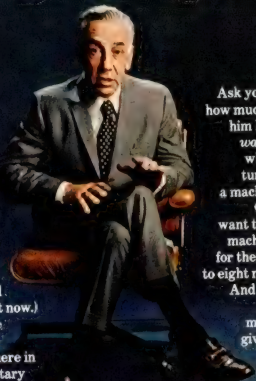
The technology is ingenious but relatively boring. The big news is not so much how it does it as what it does.

What is it that it does?  
It sets type.

It sets type just like you're reading right now. (In fact, it did set the type you're reading right now.) It sets crisp, clear, accurate type in virtually any size or typeface you want. And it does it right there in your office, as fast as your secretary can type it on the keyboard.

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Once you find out, you'll want to find us. Because these machines of ours tend to pay for themselves in the first four to eight months.

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We're Compugraphic, and we make more of this equipment than anybody in the world.

**compugraphic**

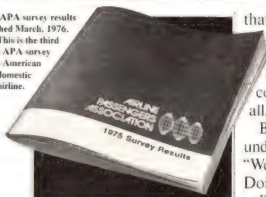
The business machine that was missing.



*The Results of the Airline Passengers Association  
Biennial Independent Survey of Frequent Fliers:*

# **American named 'No.1 choice for domestic air travel.'**

APA survey results  
published March, 1976.  
This is the third  
consecutive APA survey  
to name American  
the No. 1 domestic  
airline.



"If you were traveling to any destination in the U.S., and had your choice of any U.S. airline, which airline would you choose—and why?"

The Airline Passengers Association asked that question of its membership—people who averaged more than 35 flights a year.

The results were conclusive: more people chose American

than any other airline.

And the reasons were many: Schedules, reliability, comfort, courtesy, convenience—and most of all, service.

Being named number one underscores our right to say, "We're American Airlines. Doing what we do best."

But it also gives us the responsibility to go on proving ourselves, day after day and flight after flight.

**We're  
American Airlines.  
Doing what we  
do best.**

**#1**

The results were conclusive: more people chose American

Next flight, we hope you'll let us prove it to you.



ers and employees. Caroline K., a 30-year-old Manhattan secretary who was having personal problems, quit her job last year. Her employer, in sympathy with her plight, listed her as fired, thus enabling Caroline to collect \$90 a week in unemployment benefits for 65 weeks (in New York, most employees who quit voluntarily are ineligible for jobless benefits). Unemployment officials insisted that she visit prospective employers regularly. But her former boss had deliberately made Caroline difficult to place by saying that her relatively high salary was for work performed as a file clerk instead of a secretary. That suited Caroline fine. Says she, "I needed a vacation. Besides, I got away with it only because my company let me. I just didn't want to work, that's all."

Some employers hire part-time workers and pay them "off the books," usually in greenbacks taken from the petty-cash drawer. The employer gets the advantage of cheap labor; the workers draw both clandestine wages and jobless benefits. Harold Kasper, who directs New York State's unemployment insurance program, ran into one such case by sheer accident while munching a corned beef on rye at an Albany delicatessen, he overheard a waitress complaining to a friend that another waitress was being paid off the books. Such freakish breaks aside, says Kasper, the fraud is extremely hard to combat: "The guy who pays someone off the books, how in hell do you control that?"

Some forms of abuse may not violate the letter of the law, but they do violate its spirit. In nearly all states, a worker must earn a minimum level of wages and be employed for a specified period, usually six months, before becoming eligible for unemployment compensation. So, some people work exactly that time, then provoke employers to fire them. They collect unemployment compensation for as long as possible, go back to work, then get themselves fired again. Layoffs in seasonal businesses such as the theater may serve the same purpose.

**Doubled Penalty.** Armed with computers, state officials are doing what they can to curb fraud. Washington is helping by increasing funds for probes of suspected frauds, though most state compensation offices are woefully short of investigators. Mary Ellen Gormick heads an auditing team in Illinois to cut down on abuses. Says she, "We were so preoccupied with strengthening the system so legitimate claims would get paid. Only recently have we been able to focus on some of the abuses."

When violators do get caught, the common penalty is to make them pay back the money they got illegitimately. Some states charge a 100% penalty on top of that. Few violators are imprisoned. But one New York man who collected money under eleven names and took the state for \$23,000 was sent to jail for three years.

## MANAGEMENT

### Bitter Grapes

Family-owned businesses can be showcases of executive harmony—or the arena for bitter feuds made all the more painful by the fact that the disputants are of the same blood. For the past 30 years one of the most spectacular such feuds has pitted Robert Mondavi, now 64, against his brother Peter, 63, over the operation of the Charles Krug Winery, the oldest in California's Napa Valley. Their struggle came to a climax this year in a court battle interrupted by their mother's death. Now it is nearing a surprising conclusion: a California judge has ordered the profitable winery—it earned \$3.5 million on sales of \$16 million in the fiscal year that

Cesare usually managed to arbitrate their business disputes, but after he died in 1959 the tensions increased until, in 1965, they exploded into a fistfight. The other family members talked Robert into taking a six-month leave to cool off. He soon concluded they wanted him out and started a rival business, the Robert Mondavi Winery—while still sharing the family's profits from Krug. In a final burst of fraternal affection, Peter helped his brother-competitor by arranging for Krug to crush grapes for the new winery and lending it a badly needed bottling machine.

The détente did not last; the other Mondavis soon asked Robert to stop using the family name as a label (he refused). Meanwhile, Krug prospered under Peter's direction, but an involved tax situation held down the family's



ROBERT & PETER MONDAVI (CENTER) WITH MOTHER ROSE (LEFT) IN KITCHEN  
A struggle ends, but only after 30 years and a judge's decision.

ended last week—to be sold, taking it out of the family's control altogether.

The saga began in 1922, when Italian Immigrants Cesare and Rose Mondavi settled in Lodi, Calif., to start a grape-shipping business. In 1943, drawing on savings and bank loans, the Mondavis acquired the Charles Krug Winery, a dilapidated structure dating to 1861. To own it, the family formed a limited partnership, C. Mondavi & Sons, and later turned it into a corporation. Cesare, Rose, Robert and Peter each took 20%. Daughters Helen and Mary received 10% each. Cesare put Robert in charge and returned to grape shipping. When Peter got out of the Army Air Corps at the end of World War II, he became production manager.

The two brothers clashed almost from the start. Says Peter, "I'm conservative. Bob is an extravert, a promoter." Robert adds: "Peter's business philosophy and mine are completely opposite."

share of its earnings. In 1972, for instance, Krug earned \$1.9 million pre-tax, but the family partnership netted only \$332,525 of that. Peter proposed forming a new partnership that would ease the tax bite—and, not incidentally, reduce Robert's share to 10%. Robert refused to join, so the other Mondavis went ahead without him. Robert promptly sued, contending that his brother, with support from his mother and sisters, was scheming to cut him off from his share of the family's profits from Krug.

**Complete Victory.** The trial finally began last spring. Two months into the trial, Rose Mondavi died. Robert and Peter stood close together at her funeral but spoke not a word to each other. Last month Judge Robert D. Carter awarded Robert a complete victory. He found that the old partnership, C. Mondavi & Sons, is "no longer the family corporation originally envi-

## ECONOMY & BUSINESS

sioned" and ordered the assets of the Krug Winery sold.

Appeals could prolong the battle for years. But if control of Krug is finally sold, both brothers will prosper. Estimates are that the sale would bring about \$40 million, of which both Robert and Peter would each stand to collect \$10 million before taxes.

## TRAVEL

### Easier Than ABC

To the benefit and bewilderment of air travelers, airlines and travel agents have devised a jumble of cut-rate charter plans that drastically reduce the cost of flying. Last week the Civil Aeronautics Board approved still another plan, called ABC, or "advance booking charter." Unlike current plans, ABC eases restrictions and makes cheap charter air travel more flexible and available to almost everyone.

Scheduled to go into effect Oct. 7, ABC would require passengers to make reservations 45 days in advance for flights to some European countries and 30 days in advance to most other destinations, or up to 60 days now. Eliminated would be requirements for joining clubs or other "affinity" groups, or for buying a tour package that can include hotel accommodations and some meals—a feature undesirable to travelers who want lower charter fares. Minimum stay requirements have also been trimmed to seven days for Europe (ten days now), and cut altogether for North America. Travelers will be able to board weekend charters for Las Vegas or Disneyland.

Many of the scheduled airlines had fought ABC from the time it was proposed in February, but after last week's approval showed some acceptance. United Airlines, which dominates the domestic charter business with 50% of the flights, said that ABCs will "provide air transportation to a greater segment of the American public," and that United will begin selling ABC flights when they go into effect. TWA, however, made its unhappiness known. ABC, it said, "removes more of the restrictions which in the past have distinguished charters from the scheduled airlines."

**Far Cheaper.** The CAB did try to build some limits into the ABC plan so as not to entirely undercut the scheduled carriers. Airlines or charter operators, for example, may cancel a flight altogether under ABC if enough passengers do not show up; they may also change arrival and departure dates. Passengers who cancel will forfeit what the CAB described as a "substantial portion" of ticket costs. ABC also will be restrained by other rules, such as prohibiting charter operators from raising ticket prices if a flight is not fully booked, so prices may well be pegged high enough to offset excessive cancellations. The result

charter fares will go down, but not dramatically. Pan American estimates the round-trip New York-London ABC fare at \$350, not substantially below the \$358 offered by another plan. Both charter fares, however, are far cheaper than the standard coach fare of \$676.

## MEXICO

### Down Goes the Peso

By Latin American—or indeed any—standards, the Mexican peso has been a remarkably stable currency. Since 1954 its exchange rate has not budged from 12.5 to the dollar. Mexicans were understandably astonished, therefore, when Treasury Minister Mario Ramon Beteta suddenly appeared on their TV screens last week to announce a change. From now on, he said, the peso would float freely—in other words, its value would be determined by supply and demand.

Though Beteta was careful to avoid saying so, the move amounts to a massive devaluation. By week's end the exchange rate sank below 20 pesos to the dollar. That might lure many more American tourists to sample the delights of Acapulco or poke around the Aztec ruins near Mexico City, since their dollars will buy more in Mexico. But it will also hurt the many other Americans who have poured investment money into Mexico, seeking interest rates of 12% or more.

Bankers and businessmen were not overly surprised by the news. Rumors of a peso devaluation had been in the air for months, fueled by a huge Mexican trade deficit (\$3.7 billion in 1975), stubborn 15%-a-year inflation and high foreign debt (\$13 billion). A devaluation was also sought by tourist operators, whose business declined 4% in 1975, owing largely to price increases that had made once cheap Mexico City as costly for Americans as many European cities. Said President Luis Echeverria Alvarez: "In the end, there will be more jobs, more production, more exports and more tourism."

Perhaps, but the peso's sharp devaluation could also do harm in Mexico. Prices of the \$6.6 billion worth of consumer and capital goods that Mexico imports will rise sharply in peso terms. In the wake of Beteta's announcement, many sales clerks worked until midnight changing the price tags on merchandise. At the Puerta de Liverpool department store, for example, refrigerators went up 20% overnight, color TV sets more than 30%. To ease the burden, Echeverria has already promised raises for workers, civil servants and pensioners—a generous but inflationary move.

Apart from tourists, the Americans most affected will be the investors who have poured billions into peso-dominated bonds and savings accounts. At the old exchange rate, for example, \$2,000 would have bought a 25,000-peso bond that at 12% would pay interest equal to \$240 a year. At 20 pesos to the dollar, the bondholder's principal has shrunk to \$1,250, and his interest to \$150 a year.

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## New Faces of 1976

*When the aging college president retired, he did not give his successor any advice, but instead left four numbered envelopes with instructions to open them in sequence as campus crises arose. Sure enough, trouble came soon, and the young chief executive opened the first envelope. The message inside: "Balance your budget." When new problems developed, the president twice more consulted his silent mentors. "Form a committee," read the second note. "Make a new five-year plan," said the third. After a period of relative calm, another crisis ensued, and the president, after opening the fourth envelope, slumped in his chair. The suggestion: "Prepare four envelopes."*

When this apocryphal tale was told at a recent conference of small college presidents, it was greeted with uneasy laughter. The fourth envelope is often too close at hand. Given the problems in higher education—entrenched faculties, rising expenses, enrollments expected to fall—college presidents can no longer expect long terms of easy-paced stewardship. Indeed their estimated tenure today is three to five years.

This year 112 colleges are getting new presidents. A six-school sampler of problems and prospects:

**BROWN UNIVERSITY** (6,700 students, Providence, R.I.) Now president of Minnesota's Carleton College, Howard Swearer, 44, is changing posts because "I decided I needed a change of context, a new set of problems and a new set of challenges. Brown offers all of those." Indeed, it does. The 213-year-old school has suffered through a variety of ailments the past few years—a deficit of \$10.6 million since 1970, student strikes, minority student protests. His principal goal, says Swearer, is "to encourage the various constituencies to work together to determine what the institution's priorities are, and then put those priorities above those of their own constituency." High on Swearer's list of priorities is a fund-raising campaign—Brown's \$98 million endowment is relatively small by Ivy League standards. He also wants to find a method of minimizing the danger of necessary reduction in faculty. As

teaching staffs are pared, it is usually the younger, untenured faculty who are let go, and it is important, says Swearer, that those older, tenured teachers who remain do not get stale. One innovation that Swearer is considering: summer institutes for new teaching and research techniques, training in related academic disciplines and guidance in searching out other vocations.

**TUFTS UNIVERSITY** (6,500 students; Medford, Mass.) For French-born Jean Mayer, 56, an internationally known nutrition expert, the presidency of Tufts is but a single line in a seven-page single-spaced curriculum vitae that includes medals for his role in the World War II French Resistance, appointments to numerous presidential commissions and more than a dozen academic posts. Nonetheless, Mayer plans to devote his full energies to Tufts. He hopes to open New England's first school of veterinary medicine there, and in Tufts' graduate schools to emphasize those programs "where jobs will be waiting at the other end." He also plans to have every student take at least one course a year in decision making. Says he: "The whole weight of universities today is on the analytical study of problems, but no effort is made, no system is applied to get those elements of information back together to make decisions possible."

**BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY** (3,000 students; Lewisburg, Pa.) Dennis O'Brien, 45, a Hegelian philosopher by training (degrees from Yale and the University of Chicago) and most recently dean of the faculty of Middlebury College, was told by a fellow administrator that he

would spend two-thirds of his time off campus raising money. He would like to lower that to one-third. Says he: "To be a salesman for Bucknell, I'm going to have to spend enough time on campus to be knowledgeable about my product." To raise the faculty's appreciation of Bucknell's "common needs and interests," O'Brien plans to hold "meta-physical breakfasts" where faculty from different departments can discuss major educational topics. "At too many places," he says, "individual departments function as noncommunicating intellectual fiefdoms." O'Brien plans to teach one course for seniors called "Last Chance Philosophy" and to invite representatives of such institutions as CBS, U.S. Steel or the Metropolitan Opera to participate in courses examining the roles they play. The purpose to bring students closer to "the realities of American society."

**BARNARD COLLEGE** (2,000 women; Manhattan) After administrative positions at Radcliffe, Sarah Lawrence and Brown, Jacqueline Anderson Mattfeld, 50, takes on the presidency of one of the Seven Sisters just when it is being eyed acquisitively by Columbia University, its big brother across the street. Although Barnard has run a deficit in each of the last few years (\$500,000 in 1975-76), the college and its \$24 million en-

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP RIGHT: SWEARER OF BROWN, O'BRIEN OF BUCKNELL, FARENTHOLD OF WELLS, MAYER OF TUFTS, WHITE OF MILLS & MATTFELD OF BARNARD



## EDUCATION

dowment are nonetheless attractive to Columbia. Mattfeld, a Goucher graduate, argues a partnership, yes, a merger, never. Discovering some "ambiguous wording" in the intercorporate agreement with Columbia, Mattfeld had Barnard trustees write out a specific mandate calling for the college's continued autonomy. At the same time, Mattfeld must allay the fear of some of her faculty that they will lose invitational teaching assignments at Columbia if she refuses the university's overtures to merge with it.

**MILLS COLLEGE** (1,018 women; Oakland, Calif.) An ambassador at the United Nations for special political affairs and a former foreign service officer, Barbara McClure White, 55, wanted to switch to a career in higher education. "The Mills offer came along at the right time," she notes. A Mount Holyoke graduate, White is firmly committed to the importance of women's colleges and hopes to attract more "resumers"—over-22-year-olds coming back to finish their liberal arts education. "They are highly motivated and among our best students," White also wants to introduce weekend or intensive vacation study programs to help older women who have been raising families find new or different careers. "To have only one career," says the former diplomat, "is a waste of human talent."

**WELLS COLLEGE** (515 women; Aurora, N.Y.) At the 1972 Democratic Convention, Frances Farlton ("Sissy") Farenthold, fresh from a defeat in the Texas gubernatorial primary, was nominated for the vice-presidential slot on the McGovern ticket in a symbolic gesture by the Women's Caucus. Her being chosen as the first female of Wells' thirteen presidents, however, was anything but symbolic. The school, which has a modest endowment of \$8 million, needed someone of note to help boost sagging enrollment. On the job since March, Farenthold, 49, has made this fall's entering class the largest in six years, but still sees recruitment as her biggest problem. Farenthold, a Vassar alumna with a University of Texas law degree, never gave "a minute's thought to being a college president" till she went to speak at Wells and was subsequently offered the post. Directed to cut costs without touching faculty salaries or positions, she preaches "the ethics of less." She has moved out of the oak-paneled president's office, with its marble fireplace, to more modest digs, where she plans to install a Franklin stove. Farenthold's chief academic interest is in educating women for the professions. As for her own new appointment, she notes that she is one of half a dozen women taking president's slots formerly occupied by men only. These days "it's a high risk job," she says, adding cheerfully, "There's a possible analogy to the blacks who have complained that they started getting municipal jobs just when the inner city became impossible."



LOS ANGELES POLICE DEPARTMENT SPECIALISTS STAGE HYPNOSIS INTERVIEW

## The Svengali Squad

The evening news on July 15 stunned the country: a busload of 26 children from the small California farming community of Chowchilla had disappeared. The youngsters and their driver had been kidnapped by three masked men brandishing pistols. The victims were driven to a gravel quarry 100 miles away and forced into an abandoned trailer truck buried 6 ft underground. Sixteen hours later the captives managed to dig themselves out and were soon rescued. The FBI quickly interrogated them but found no answer to the question: Who were the abductors?

To help crack the case, the bureau called in Dr. William S. Kroger, an authority on medical hypnosis. Kroger sat with Chowchilla Bus Driver Ed Ray in a Fresno motel room and told him to fix his eyes on a spot on the wall and breathe deeply. Twenty minutes later Ray was under hypnosis. Dr. Kroger then led him through a playback of the kidnapping. The play worked. The driver was able to recall all but one digit of the license plate on the kidnappers' white van. The information helped authorities track down three suspects who go on trial later this month.

**Successful Tool.** Though the FBI says it uses hypnosis sparingly, mesmerizing consenting witnesses is on the increase as a police investigative tool. The Los Angeles Police Department has worked with the technique since 1970. Noting its success, Psychologist Martin Reiser, head of the L.A.P.D.'s behavioral-sciences services, decided last year to set up a special hypnosis unit, the first in the U.S. Kroger and nine other medical hypnotists trained 14 L.A.P.D. officers in the technique, which dates back at least to ancient Egypt. Says L.A.P.D. Captain Richard Sandstrom, who is currently evaluating the work of the force's new Svengali Squad: "Hypnosis gives utterly fantastic results."

The Israeli National Police Force,

which set up its own hypnosis unit in 1972, agrees. Its team of trained hypnotists has solved 25 cases and advanced the investigations in 60 more. When terrorists bombed the Nahariya-Haifa bus in 1973, police questioned the driver about suspicious passengers. He could not remember anything until Captain Yshaya Horowitz, head of the hypnosis squad, sent him into a medium-depth trance and asked him to relive his workday. The driver eventually described a suspicious rider with a brown paper parcel under his arm. Working on this lead, Israeli cops quickly collared the Arab bombers, who confessed to the bombing.

The L.A.P.D. reports that hypnosis has been used in some 70 cases. In one, a woman who had been high on drugs and alcohol at the time could recall no details of the murder of her boy friend, which she had witnessed. Figuring that her perceptions would be "similar to pictures taken by a camera lens with gauze over it," Reiser was dubious about trying hypnosis. He was wrong. In her trance the woman unerringly ticked off the killer's physical features and his clothing—right down to the stripes in his pants and the dots in his tie. A police artist put together a composite drawing that led to the killer's arrest.

The L.A.P.D. unit's approach to a witness is simple and direct. The subject is offered a comfortable chair, and a two-man team explains to him that a witness cannot be hypnotized against his will. (When one scared subject blurted that "the devil will come out of me if I'm hypnotized," he was excused.) "Motivation is the most important thing," says Sandstrom. "If they are willing to cooperate and you help them to relax, then it is very easy."

Interrogation by hypnosis is not infallible. Mesmerized witnesses can fantasize, make mistakes, even lie. But handled with care, hypnosis does offer leads. "We take the information at face value and then verify it," says L.A.P.D. hypnotist Lieut. Ed Henderson. It is up to

a judge to decide whether to admit testimony of witnesses whose memories have been jogged by hypnosis.

To head off charges of quackery, the L.A.P.D. is now organizing a "forensic hypnosis society," a professional organization for police hypnotists—complete with a code of ethics. Says Captain Sandstrom: "We want to make hypnosis respectable—after all it came out of the dark ages."

## Teaching Law Behind Bars

David Gatling, 24, is serving seven to 21 years in the sprawling prison complex at Lorton, Va., for assault with a deadly weapon and armed robbery. Like many convicts, all Gatling knew about the U.S. legal system until recently was that it had put him behind bars. But thanks to a promising new idea in prisoner education and rehabilitation, Gatling has become familiar enough with the law to see that it is not necessarily stacked against him, that it can be evenhanded and may actually work in his favor.

Gatling is one of the 615 convicts who have graduated in the past three years from "street-law" courses taught in correctional institutions in the Washington, D.C., area. The program is the brainchild of Jason Newman, 37, a professor at the Georgetown University Law Center who believes lawyers must do more "to have laymen understand the legal system and know it's there to help them, so they can use it and not abuse it."

The prison classes are a spin-off from a community legal-assistance project pioneered by Newman in 1972. It now provides such services as round-the-clock legal-aid units and high school instruction in legal basics. Street law, which begins its fifth semester next week, offers five subjects—including criminal and corrections law—at six prisons, youth detention centers and halfway houses. Impressed by the Georgetown program, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration has

provided \$320,000 in federal grants for similar courses by other universities. Beginning this month, street-law programs will be offered in two California prisons, seven in the state of Washington and four in Colorado.

In D.C., classes of about 25 inmates meet in spartan gray-walled prison classrooms for 90 minutes two nights a week for four months; graduates get certificates. Courses are taught by two-member teams of second- and third-year law students, most of them from Georgetown, who earn academic credit for their work. The young instructors—most have never been inside a prison before—also gain insight about people who really need legal help. Says Jerry Kristal, a third-year student who taught last semester: "At first we had stereotypes of what prisoners were. I learned prisoners are human."

**Apt and Alert.** Teachers lead the inmates, one by one, through specific textbook cases: "You are not married but are the mother of a child fathered by . . ." "You arrive at National Airport from New York, and a policeman finds a pound of marijuana by searching your suitcase. . . ." The courses wind up with mock trials, in which the convict-students prosecute and defend cases before actual judges from the D.C. bench. Says Garland Poynter, head of education at the District of Columbia Jail: "Once you learn the system, you learn to respect it. It decreases frustration." Thanks to street law's practical and straightforward approach, even inmates with scant education often prove to be apt and alert pupils.

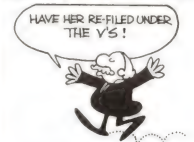
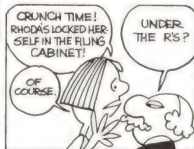
Some alumni who learned their lessons well have won release from prison. But unlike most jailhouse lawyers, street-law grads are less prone to clogging court calendars with futile writs and motions. The program has also helped inmates improve their lot while still serving time. One star pupil in the first street-law course at the D.C. Jail filed a suit against the District government, the Department of Corrections and jail authorities, charging inhumane conditions and treatment of prisoners. He won and reforms are now under way.

STREET LAW STUDENTS PARTICIPATING IN CLASS DISCUSSION AT LORTON, VA., PRISON



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## Opera: Two for the Road

The importing and exporting of opera companies is perhaps the most unlikely growth industry in the world today. Just moving an opera company across town is a money-losing proposition; to transport one across an ocean, lock, stock and spears, is to risk bankruptcy. Yet in 1975 the Metropo-

litan Opera flew to Japan, and both the Deutsche Oper Berlin and the Bolshoi Opera visited the U.S. And now, beginning this week, two of Europe's most important opera companies will be mounting productions in the U.S. for the first time. Whatever the outcome of the new musical season, nothing is going to outshine the anticipation and excitement of such a gala double bill.



LIEBERMANN IN FRONT OF THE PARIS OPÉRA  
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litan Opera flew to Japan, and both the Deutsche Oper Berlin and the Bolshoi Opera visited the U.S. And now, beginning this week, two of Europe's most important opera companies will be mounting productions in the U.S. for the first time. Whatever the outcome of the new musical season, nothing is going to outshine the anticipation and excitement of such a gala double bill.

La Scala of Milan will start things off in Washington, D.C.'s Kennedy Center Opera House. Next evening the Paris Opéra will open at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City. Putting

its best forte forward, La Scala will offer—what else?—three Italians named Rossini, Puccini and Verdi. Showing somewhat less of a nationalistic strain, Paris will borrow Verdi for a while, and also offer Mozart the Austrian and, just to avoid outrage back home, France's own Charles Gounod. For many an opera buff the music is all well and good, but what really counts is the thrill of encountering a glamorous big-name conductor—such as Paris' Sir Georg Solti (who will conduct *Le Nozze di Figaro* and *Otello*) or La Scala's dashing Claudio Abbado (*Macbeth*, *La Cenerentola*, *Simon Boccanegra*). Or being present when an important artist breaks through into international stardom—as, say, Paris' dulcet-voiced soprano Margaret Price (the Countess in *Figaro*, Desdemona in *Otello*) may well do this time. Before La Scala and Paris wind up their two-week stands (Paris will then follow La Scala into the Kennedy Center), it should be quite a show—both in front of the footlights and backstage.

Backstage is, of course, the real heart of any opera company, and its denizens are often as well known as the stars. There, be it in Washington or New York, no one is going to occupy a more central or intriguing position than Rolf Liebermann, 65, the Swiss-born general director of the Paris Opéra. In the space of only four years he has achieved what many thought impossible: he has turned the once floundering Paris Opéra around and restored talk of *la gloire*.

Throughout its 300-year history, the Paris Opéra has probably boasted more foibles than any other company—and, given the vicissitudes of the average opera company, that is saying a lot. Back in the 1770s, when it got ready to put on Gluck's landmark opera *Orfeo ed Euridice*, 18th-century male-chauvinist Parisians balked at having a male contralto play the hero, considering that an affront to their manhood; poor Gluck had to rewrite the part for tenor. In the 19th century, even a Wagner or a Verdi had to include a ballet in his opera or risk not getting it performed in Paris. In more recent times, the price of government subsidization included requirements that more than 50% of the repertory be French and that French

singers be given priority. So mediocre did the Paris Opéra become that former *Enfant Terrible* Pierre Boulez was led to say that it was "full of dust and dung."

When asked by the French government to take over the Paris Opéra, Liebermann hesitated. After a lively and successful 14-year reign at the Hamburg State Opera, he was all set to go back to being a composer. The last thing he wanted to get involved in was a difficult political situation. "I knew that a foreigner at the head of such a cultural monument as the Paris Opéra would raise hues and cries," he recalls. When he finally accepted, there was no storm at all, largely because Liebermann got what he wanted right at the outset: a completely free hand in repertory, casting and running of the house, as well as a big enough budget (currently \$25 million) to make change possible.

**Hollow Shell.** Liebermann also got Solti to join him as his music adviser and, when not busy with the Chicago Symphony, star conductor. Their initial offering in March 1973 was a radiant *Figaro*, first performed at the Versailles palace and then moved back into the opera house. It was a triumph, and they are opening with it in New York. The key to Liebermann's success? "Charm," says Solti. "He can charm everyone, including myself." He adds that Liebermann has the taste of an established composer. Says Solti, "Liebermann knows exactly what is good and has the good fortune he can pay for it."

What Liebermann found when he arrived was a strike-ridden, hollow shell. There was, he recalls, "no repertory, no workshops, decrepit stage machinery and no rehearsal stage. The unions were highly politicized and the work schedule very relaxed." Today Liebermann still does not have adequate rehearsal space, but his backstage is improved (notably by a new computerized light-board), and the company is on a six-day work schedule. Morale is up and so are the box office receipts, with sellouts replacing the empty houses of the '60s.

Liebermann has been less adventurous with repertory than he was in Hamburg; he has had to be, given the need to build up the Paris Opéra's repertory of standard works. Also, he concedes, "Paris audiences are more transient, and certainly more conservative." Nonetheless, French Mystical Composer Olivier Messiaen is busily at work on an opera for the 1979 season.

Liebermann begins each day at the opera at 10 a.m., after a 25-mile drive from his home in Pontchartrain, outside Paris. After a quick bout with the mail, he wanders off into the house to drop in on rehearsals, greeting violinists and stagehands as he goes. "Running an opera is like running a restaurant," he says.



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by Liam O'Ryan, May 9, 1976, issue

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## MUSIC

"If the boss is not there, the food gets bad and the service even worse," Liebermann's secretary, Annick Goulard, who worked for his predecessor, says her current boss almost never loses his temper. "It's not that he does not get mad. It's that he does not explode." One thing that makes him less than jolly is the frequent reshuffling of the French Cabinet. Says Liebermann: "If you are dependent on a government, you can never be sure about the future. Right now I am on my fifth Minister of Culture."

The unpredictability of the Paris Opera scene is as nothing compared with what is going on at La Scala, or Teatro alla Scala as it is officially known. Labor disputes, resignations and money shortages are as commonplace backstage as swordplay, death and "addios" onstage. Financially the past year was the worst La Scala has had in a century; as a result, the company's debt soared to \$20 million. Disputes with La Scala's various unions are continuous—and have lately been spreading from such common matters as overtime to the normally sacrosanct area of artistic policy. "It's absurd," said the company's *sorintendente* (general manager) Paolo Grassi last spring. "Can we direct a theater in which the shop stewards look for errors in the dialogue?"

At one point both Grassi and Abbado, then music director, handed in their resignations. When the unions calmed down, Grassi reconsidered. But Abbado is still playing poker with the authorities. And then there was the painful moment when the Italian government announced that La Scala's visit to the U.S., planned for two years as that country's salute to the American Bicentennial, was being canceled because of a nationwide economic crisis. Largely through the efforts of the Kennedy Center's executive director, Martin Feinstein, who, having sold out the run, quickly jumped off to Italy, the tour was restored. The Kennedy Center pledged more than \$300,000 toward La Scala's tour budget. Another \$325,000 was raised from two companies and a foundation, and the Italian government finally kicked in \$1.1 million.

**Consoling Thought.** Despite those tribulations, the 1975-76 season at La Scala was artistically first-rate and Washington will be seeing the best of it. If Conductor Abbado feels any sense of disappointment, it is that Soprano Mirella Freni, a La Scala regular and the best Mimi in the business today, will not be singing *Bohème* in Washington, but *Faust* in New York—"simply because Paris booked her first." He consoles himself with the thought that New Orleans-born Shirley Verrett, best known for her *mezzo* roles at the Met, could well achieve a major career breakthrough singing the dramatic soprano part of Lady Macbeth under his baton. That will be only one of the things to anticipate from La Scala and the Paris Opera during their U.S. visits.

## Brush Fires

The customer in Mr. Eckhard's barbershop in San Francisco's elegant Fairmont Hotel was turning hot under the collar, both literally and figuratively. Proprietor Eckhard Helmholtz, brandishing a wide-toothed bone comb in one hand and a flaming 10-in. jeweler's torch in the other, was preparing to go to work, while cooing assurances that "it isn't nearly as bad as it smells." It turns out to be the blowtorch cut, the hottest innovation in California coiffure circles since Warren Beatty in *Shampoo*.

Helmholtz's tonsorial firing for effect is the result of complaints from customers whose fine, flyaway hair made them look more like Ben-Gurion than Ben Gazzara. Helmholtz first tried to solve the problem with an old barber's trick: burning the ends with flaming candles. The knobby, stunted ends weighed down the hair and made it lie flat, all right, but Helmholtz's Nob Hill clients waxed eloquent about tallow dripping down the backs of their necks. So Helmholtz, 33, began experimenting with a small blowtorch and soon found it the perfect tool. "It is maneuverable, it singes places hitherto impossible to reach, and it is absolutely safe, as long as you always point the torch away from the skin."

Helmholtz prepares for his singe jobs like a surgeon before an operation. Each customer gets a thorough work-up, with the results—tensile strength, absorption factor and elasticity of hair—printed on special reference cards. Says Helmholtz: "We leave nothing to chance." Then the hair is washed and scissor-trimmed by

aides, after which Helmholtz himself arrives, torch in hand. Moving it from right to left across the customer's head, using a comb as a baffle, he burns off a few strands at a time, starting at the front of the crown and working down to the earlobes and around the back. The acrid stench of burning hair fills the air. After ten minutes of work, Helmholtz shuts off his torch, shampoos the hair to get rid of the smell and dries it under a heat lamp.

**No Casualties.** Helmholtz has given 10,000 blowtorch cuts at a cost of \$15 for an initial blaze and \$10.50 for a return visit—with no casualties. Seventy percent of the customers come back, even though they must make appointments three days in advance. Says one recent, first-time customer: "My hair usually flies about and makes me look like Einstein. After my blowtorch cut, it miraculously stayed in place."

Women too are flocking to Helmholtz's shop. With female customers, he twists the hair into separate ropes and then burns the ends. Afterward, he shampoos the hair as usual, but dries it, natch, with a blow dryer.

Word of Helmholtz's technique has reached other barbers as well. At least 40 have come to him to learn the torch trick and are now practicing on customers in scattered shops in California, Georgia, Texas and other states.

Helmholtz has even more exotic skills to impart. He does a brisk business styling men's chest hair into shamrocks, peace signs, hearts and other shapes on request. His torso tansures, however, are done strictly with clippers.

HELMHOLTZ GIVING CUSTOMER A SINGE JOB AT FAIRMONT HOTEL





## The Making of a Gene

Like the sages of his native India, Organic Chemist and Nobel Laureate\* Har Gobind Khorana is an extremely patient man. Nine years ago, he began working on the chemical synthesis of a single gene—the basic unit of heredity. By 1970 he had constructed a yeast-cell gene identical to the original—except for one thing: it lacked the vital "start" and "stop" signals to make it function in a living cell. Last week members of Khorana's team at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology disclosed that his goal had finally been achieved. At an American Chemical Society meeting in San Francisco, they announced that using only off-the-shelf chemicals, they had made an artificial gene that does all the work of its natural counterpart.

**Like Beads.** Khorana's creation is a duplicate of one of the thousands of genes in the spiral-staircase structure of the DNA molecule in the common intestinal bacterium *E. coli*. Unlike human genes, which include millions of chemical "steps" along much larger DNA molecules, this bacterial gene contains only 199 full steps, each a pair of letters in the genetic code. Consisting of chemicals called nucleotides, these letters make up words in the gene's message—in this case, instructions to transfer the amino acid tyrosine to the cell's protein-manufacturing centers.

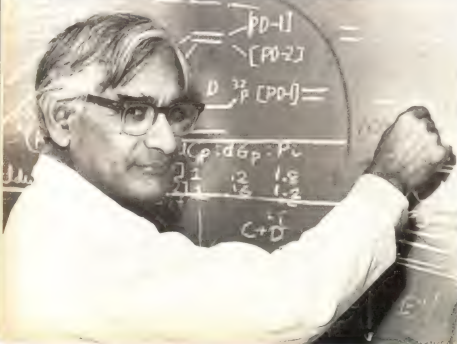
Duplicating the gene's basic structure, which had been determined earlier by British researchers, was extreme-

ly tedious, trial-and-error work. Each scientist on Khorana's team was assigned to assemble  $1\frac{1}{2}$  segments of DNA. This involved chemically linking one nucleotide to another, like beads of a necklace, until a chain ten to 12 nucleotides long had been created. Eventually the team built up 40 segments, all of them single stranded. These had to be paired to form double-stranded DNA segments that had to be connected end to end in proper sequence to duplicate the bacterial gene. In the course of their work, Khorana and his colleagues built not only the basic gene but the hitherto elusive start and stop signals at either end. When the synthetic gene was inserted into an *E. coli* cell with the help of a carrier virus known as a bacteriophage, it performed perfectly.

Unlike other experiments in "genetic engineering" (TIME, July 19), Khorana's work apparently does not pose dangers. For one thing, the gene is assembled with control signals, which enables scientists to prevent runaway activity. Also, there is no attempt to produce new gene combinations from different organisms that could accidentally breed mutants against which humans or other life have no natural defenses. Indeed, some scientists see in gene synthesis enormous potential for good. It could, for example, eventually be used to replace defective genes in ailing humans—in hemophiliacs, say. It may also bring new understanding—and possibly control—of cancer by explaining why the genes suddenly order the rampages of cell growth characteristic of the killer disease.

\*For his role in deciphering the genetic code

GENE SYNTHESIZER KHORANA EXPLAINS HIS WORK AT M.I.T. BLACKBOARD



## Sex and the Screwworm

Hatched in open sores on cattle, their screw-shaped larvae can literally eat their way through a live steer. For years, they were a major scourge of the cattle country in the U.S. Southwest. It was not until the 1960s that screwworm flies were brought under control by a cunning form of biological warfare. Millions of flies, bred in a factory in Mission, Texas, were irradiated with sterilizing doses of gamma rays and released into the wild. When sterile males mated with normal females, which make only one sexual contact during their two or three weeks of life, the unions produced only infertile eggs—and the fly population and cattle losses dropped sharply. Now the number of infested cattle has begun to rise again, and three Texas scientists think they know one major reason why: the irradiated male flies are outperformed sexually by their normal counterparts.

**Afternoon Heat.** While probing differences between wild- and factory-bred flies, Zoologist Guy L. Bush and Biochemist G. Barrie Kitto of the University of Texas, with Zoologist Raymond W. Neck of the Texas parks and wildlife department, found that the larvae were kept at an unnaturally constant, warm temperature, mainly to speed up growth. Also, young flies were unable to fly around much in their cages. Eventually, the researchers write in *Science*, a markedly different strain emerged. No longer as vigorous, the male does not become active until the heat of afternoon, whereas his wild brethren are busy impregnating females from early morning until late afternoon, keeping the species alive and well.

U.S. Department of Agriculture scientists concede that the Texas scientists could have a point, but insist that other factors are also at work in the new wave of cattle infestation: warm weather last winter and moist conditions this summer have increased the birth rate of the fly; there are fewer ranch hands to check and treat cattle on the ranges; and a recent proliferation of Gulf Coast ear ticks has resulted in wounds on cattle that provide ideal hatching places for screwworm larvae. In addition, some scientists speculate that because the factory males are smaller and differently colored, the wild females may be finding them less attractive. In any case, future factory-bred males may be more formidable sexual competitors. The Texas factory and a large new breeding plant formally opened last month under a joint U.S.-Mexican commission in Tuxtla Gutierrez, Mexico, are now producing a more aggressive fly strain, tagged 009. Explains a commission spokesman: "He is a macho Mexican fly, and factory breeding should not dilute his sex drive."

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## The Lefebvre Fever

It could have been, scarcely a decade ago, a pious Roman Catholic Mass, just the sort of loyal demonstration to gladden the heart of a Pope distressed by the faithlessness of the modern world. The worshippers had come early to the auditorium in the northern French city of Lille: while a choir chanted medieval Latin hymns, the congregation quickly filled 5,700 seats and spilled out into the aisles. Then the celebrant of the Mass entered, a pink-cheeked, white-haired priest who moved solemnly up the aisle behind a quartet of acolytes bearing lighted candles.

But the words from the altar were anything but pious or loyal. Instead, the priest, Roman Catholic Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre, 70, coolly denounced the Vatican for having entered an "adulterous marriage" with "revolution and subversion." As a result, charged the prelate, "The rite of Mass today is a bastard rite. The sacraments today are bastard sacraments. We want to have prayers like our ancestors. We want to keep the Catholic faith." After an hour of such remonstrations, Lefebvre began the Mass in Latin, according to the four-century-old Tridentine rite, now superseded and banned by Rome.

**Despised Reforms.** For Lefebvre and his followers, the new Mass promulgated by Pope Paul in 1969 is a symbol of the changes embodied in the reforms of the Second Vatican Council reforms that they despise. Among other objections, Lefebvre contends that the use of vernacular languages instead of Latin has broken down Catholic unity. In addition to the Mass, Lefebvre demands a return to the "true Bible," the Latin Vulgate of St. Jerome, instead of dangerous "ecumenical" versions. He excoriates progressive interpretations of church doctrine. "If I had done earlier what they teach priests in seminaries to do now, I would have been excommunicated," he lamented in his sermon last week. "If I had taught them the catechisms they teach now, they would have called me a heretic."

Ironically, until recently the Vatican had long considered Lefebvre an exemplary missionary and a pastoral pillar of the church. Born into a family of industrialists near Lille, he was ordained in 1929 and spent 30 years in Africa, where he became Archbishop of Dakar. But he had difficulty adjusting to the changes that swept Africa in the 1960s, when many colonies won independence, and he was transferred back to France.

\*The rite takes its name from the Latin *Tridentinum*, for Trent, Italy, site of the 16th-century council that authorized a newly uniform Mass ritual. It is the Tridentine rite that is forbidden not Latin. The original version of the new rite, from which all vernacular versions are translated, is in fact in Latin.

After a brief stint as bishop of Tulle, he was appointed head of a missionary order, the Fathers of the Holy Spirit. When the order's general assembly voted a series of reforms, Lefebvre resigned, charging that "democratization" of the church was the work of Satan. Six years ago he founded a seminary at Ecône, Switzerland, dedicated to the training of traditionalist priests who would function as though Vatican II had never taken place.

Despite the Vatican's disapproval and finally its order last year to dissolve the seminary, Lefebvre continued to operate it. His defiance came to a head this past June when Lefebvre, once again disregarding Vatican orders, ordained 13 priests and 13 subdeacons. In July the Vatican announced that he was suspended *a divinis*, a sanction that bars him from saying Mass, administering the sacraments and preaching. Disregarding the suspension, Lefebvre went ahead with the Lille Mass last week.

As a bishop, Lefebvre possesses his authority in what Roman Catholics believe to be apostolic succession from the original apostles; thus, his partisans might argue, he has the power to set up a church structure of his own. While some extreme traditionalists in Europe might welcome such a move, its appeal in the U.S. is doubtful. A number of priests in the U.S. still defiantly say the forbidden Tridentine Mass, but their bishops generally ignore them, content to remind Catholics that the Mass is illicit. Some of these priestly recalcitrants might conceivably join a Lefebvre schism; at least one was at the Lille Mass. But the conservative Catholic press in the U.S. has warned readers that Lefebvre's actions are wrong, and loyally backed Pope Paul.

Apart from the suspension, the Pope has treated Lefebvre with considerable restraint, even tenderness. In a poignant note in French, handwritten in Rome two weeks before the Lille Mass, the Pontiff addressed the erring bishop as "our venerated brother," urged him to reconsider "the insupportable irregularity of your present position" and "break the illogical bonds which make you alien and hostile to the church." The letter apparently affected the intransigent archbishop very little. Last week in Lille he told reporters that he did not feel at all isolated. "I am with 20 centuries of the church," he declared confidently. "I am with 20 centuries of heaven."



LEFEBVRE GIVING COMMUNION TO YOUNG ACOLYTE

## Candler's Coup

The top five theological libraries in the U.S. have for decades been within a day's journey of one another—at Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Manhattan's Union Theological Seminary and Connecticut's Hartford Seminary Foundation. More recently Berkeley's Graduate Theological Union and the Chicago Divinity School have been correcting the imbalance in the West, but there has been no collection below the Mason-Dixon line to match the luster of those in the Northeast. Now that has changed. Last week the final shipment of some 220,000 volumes—nearly 4½ shelf miles of books—from Hartford's superb collection went South, bound for the library of Candler School of Theology, part of Emory University in Atlanta. Added to Candler's own library of some 117,000 books of more recent vintage, the Hartford collection makes Candler's one of the nation's best.

Emory University paid \$1,750,000 for the collection, which Hartford decided to let go after it ceased training candidates for the ministry in 1972. The library was a stunning bargain; included are 1,239 individual writings by Martin Luther, printed in the 16th and 17th centuries, a considerable collection of Puritan writings from colonial New England, scores of rare hymnals, and a broad collection of Asian and African materials—though not Hartford's prestigious Islamic collection, which it is keeping. Average cost per book \$8.



## Palming Off the Palmers

Gentlemanly and discreet, with faces like silver teapots, the better art dealers and auctioneers around London's Bond Street have long maintained their immunity from the scandals of the art world. Circumspection is the motto, coupled with a standing policy—among members of the British Antique Dealers Association—to refund the price of any fake. Therefore, when the biggest art forgery scandal in years came to a head in London last fortnight, the embarrassment was acute. At a press conference, a rubicund, white-bearded cockney painter and restorer named Tom Keating, 59, revealed that over the past 25 years he had flooded the art mar-

among the most sought-after works in English romantic landscape painting. Palmer made some 80 Shoreham watercolors, oils and drawings. Keating made 80 more—mainly by copying details of Palmers and cobbling them together. The first such "Palmer" was sold to a British museum by Colnaghi's, a major Bond Street dealer, in 1965. In 1969 another "Palmer," titled *Sepham Barn*, went at auction to the Leger Galleries for £9,400 (\$22,560), a sum that staggered Keating and enabled him and his lover, Jane Kelly, the 23-year-old daughter of a retired British army major, to spend a year in the Canary Islands. Jane Kelly sold four "Palmers" to Leger Galleries, claiming they had been in her family's estate in Ceylon,

"that I was willing to sell them any old rubbish."

At the press conference, Keating spoke of nameless middlemen who turned up at his cottage to buy fakes for ten or 20 pounds, which, signed, turned up in galleries with fancy provenances. "Did you know it is an art trade practice to sign paintings?" he charged. "There must be someone who goes round the galleries once a month called Jim the Penman."

After Keating stepped forward, the British Antique Dealers Association, somewhat shaken, appointed a special investigating committee. Keating, with no charges lodged against him, took off for Europe, where he plans to work on his memoirs with Geraldine Norman's husband.

## The Snobbish Style

It was not so long ago—a matter of 20 years—that art nouveau was considered a minor style, deservedly forgotten. Those tendrilled doorknobs and flowing pedestals, that panoply of rare materials (zebrawood, *pâte de verre*, lapis lazuli, champlevé enamel), that air of hothouse elegance, glazed and nuanced—what did such things amount to but decoration? And what was decoration but a sin against the purity of modern art?

The life of art nouveau was short, about two decades, its climax was the turn of the century, in 1900. But in that brief time the look of Western capitals—and especially their bourgeois interiors—was utterly transformed by architects led by Victor Horta and Hector Guimard, designer of the Paris Metro entrances; poster artists like Privat Livemont and Alphonse Mucha, designers of jewelry like René Lalique; glassmakers and ceramists like Louis Comfort Tiffany, Émile Gallé and Félix Braquemond. A new style of luxury art, the last great mannerism, had been found. Because of a hostility to "applied" as against "high" art, and because Cézanne and the post-impressionists were its contemporaries, art nouveau was long dismissed by those who believed that cultural history is only or mainly written in paintings.

But history follows trade. The popularity of art nouveau, revived in the '60s, has provoked an enormous curiosity about the style. What was the taste of 1900? Where did it originate? Was it, after all, as effete as we were told? No exhibition, now or in the near future, is likely to satisfy that curiosity better than "Art Nouveau: Belgium France," which opened last week at the Art Institute of Chicago. Organized by both the Art Institute and the Institute for the Arts at Houston's Rice University (where it was shown last spring), it is a collective effort of numerous curators.



ENGLAND'S FORGER TOM KEATING WITH BOGUS 19TH CENTURY PAINTING  
He flooded the art market with 1,000 to 3,000 fakes.

ket with anywhere from 1,000 to 3,000 pastiches of the work of dead artists, ranging from 17th century Dutch to Constable to German expressionists. He was, Keating blithely admitted, "a terrible faker. Anyone who sees my work and thinks it genuine must be around the bend." Moreover, Keating said, he did not mean his phonies to pass close tests: before setting to work he would scrawl "fake," "Keating" or a suitable rude word on the blank canvas, in lead-based paint, which would show up under X rays. Nevertheless, many of the works ended up in leading galleries and auction rooms, where, endowed with signatures and solid pedigrees, they were sold for even more solid prices.

Nothing was to distress the trade more than Keating's versions of the work of Samuel Palmer (1805-81), whose moonlit landscapes of Shoreham are

One of them, *The Horse Chestnut Tree*, went to Sotheby's in 1973 and was sold for £15,000 (\$34,500), a record for Palmers, to a chocolate manufacturer in Hull. Sotheby's still claims it has not been proved a Keating fake.

Gradually, suspicions began to hatch. More than four years ago, Leger Galleries had a visit from a leading Palmer specialist, Sir Karl Parker, who pronounced *Sepham Barn* a fake. When *The Horse Chestnut Tree* appeared in Sotheby's, one of its former consultants, David Gould, wrote to Chairman Peter Wilson expressing doubts about it. But the scandal was finally exposed when Geraldine Norman, the London Times's auction-room correspondent, tracked Keating to his lonely cottage in Dedham. "I have so much contempt for the dealers who prostitute the art of genuine painters," Keating announced,





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## ART

headed by Yvonne Brunhammer from the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris. It contains more than 700 items by scores of artists—a brilliant array of objects, most of which have never been on display in the U.S.

"Symbolism is the thought of 1900," Art Historian Victor Beyer suggests in the catalogue, "while art nouveau is its gesture, its spasm." Even at this distance, one can sense how liberating the gesture must have seemed: an escape from the thick, relentlessly over-stuffed world of Second Empire Paris into an imagery of free movement and rhythmic arabesque. The art nouveau line—whiplike, airy, eddying back on itself—was common to high art as well. A good example is Gauguin's portrait of the painter Roy, 1889, with its serpentine forms of background and hair (see color page).

**Dragonflies and Chic.** Such serpentine curves had been discovered by the French in Japanese art: the first shops for *japonaiserie* had been set up in Paris in the 1870s. Moreover, the designers of the *Belle Époque* seized on the reverence for ephemeral nature in Japanese art, importing a fresh iconography of fugitive things: mist, shivering grasses, winding shoots, morning glories and insects. Nowhere is their passion for the impalpable better expressed than in the dragonfly lamp, each wing vibrating with red and amber glass, designed for Tiffany by Clara Driscoll around 1900.

In a sense, art nouveau invented female chic in the popular arts. Not since the 16th century mannerists had there been such a plethora of delicately icy women as now appeared on that new form, the advertising poster. Mucha, a Czech émigré who became Sarah Bernhardt's court artist, and followers like Privat Livemont helped change the sexual prototypes of the 19th century before they launched a million psychedelic posters in the late 20th.

But Alphonse Mucha was a sculptor too, and nothing in this show epit-

omizes the art nouveau vision (or fantasies) of woman better than a bust he designed around 1899 for a Parisian jeweler. This astonishing object, whose form shifts like water in the twining reflections of silver flesh and gold hair, is perversely liturgical—a parody (done, one should recall, for a public whose cultural background was still Catholic) of medieval head reliquaries. The image, however, is not a saint or a magdalen but that sibylline bitch of the *fin-de-siècle* imagination, the Fatal Woman. *La Belle Dame sans Merci*—enigmatic as a sphinx, cruelly indifferent as a Byzantine empress, wearing the features of the Divine Sarah and the aggressive glitter of a vintage Cadillac fender.

It reminds one how fused by the current of high artificiality the aesthetic and sexual fancies of the time were apt to be. Every Parisian male wanted to possess Cléo de Mérode, Liane de Pougy and their thespian sisters—the "great horizontals." But they were also votive *objets de culte*, focuses of sexual snobbery. In a like way, the most rarefied work of the art nouveau craftsmen was not accessible to a wide public. As the style spread through the decorative arts—furniture making, inlay, bookbinding, jewelry, glass—too much labor and fine material were devoured by it. It was, in very essence, elitist: the stylish style. But as Brunhammer rightly exclaims in the catalogue, "Thanks be for the *snobisme* that broke through the barriers between the arts and gave us such a profusion of fine works!" As it is in Proust, snobbery is often the essential subject of art nouveau. There is plenty of costly jewelry made today; but what modern design by Bulgari or Tiffany does not look gross or commonplace beside a piece like Lalique's swan pendant of 1898? In those cool, exquisite loops and featherings of enamel one sees a vanished sensibility: distanced, calm, perfectly judged, and soon to be destroyed by the tensions of a new century.

Robert Hughes

## MILESTONES

**Divorced.** Diana Rigg, 37, sultry, auburn-haired British actress of television's *The Avengers*, Broadway and London's West End, and Israeli Artist Menachem Gueffen, 45: after a two-year separation; in London.

**Died.** Paul F. Lazarsfeld, 75, founder and longtime director of the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University and past president of the American Sociological Association, of cancer; in Manhattan. Lazarsfeld got his Ph.D. in mathematics from the University of Vienna, and when he came to the U.S. in 1933, devoted himself to applying that discipline to sociology, psychology and market research. A pioneer in researching the effects of mass communication, he systematically studied, along with Frank Stanton, later president of CBS, the radio-listening habits of Americans in the '30s and '40s. Modern voter-projection methods grew out of his original studies of election behavior. For 29 years a professor at Columbia, Lazarsfeld was a lively and influential teacher who molded many of today's leading sociologists.

**Died.** Benjamin M. McKelway, 80, editor of the Washington *Star* (1946-63); of kidney failure; in Washington, D.C. A soft-spoken North Carolinian, McKelway joined the *Star* as a reporter in 1921. As its editor he was a champion of civil rights, including the right of District of Columbia residents to vote. In 1957 he became the first non-publisher to be elected president of the Associated Press.

**Died.** Mark Vishniak, 93, author and TIME's longtime Sovietologist (1946-58); in Manhattan. A law professor in Moscow, Vishniak was five times arrested by Czar Nicholas II as an ardent Socialist Revolutionary. In 1917 he helped draw up the electoral laws for the provisional government headed by Alexander Kerensky and, as Vishniak later wrote, served in "the only freely elected Parliament in the history of Russia," which lasted just twelve hours before it was dissolved by Lenin. Escaping from the Bolsheviks, Vishniak fled to Paris and, after the beginning of World War II, to the U.S. In the course of his long career, Vishniak published 22 books and numerous articles in Russian, French and English.

**Died.** Luther A. Weigle, 95, dean of the Yale Divinity School (1928-49); in New Haven, Conn. He was chairman of the committee that wrote the Revised Standard Version of the Bible (1938-52), using new translations of ancient texts and updating the King James Version to modern usage ("motify" became "put to death").

ARCHITECT HECTOR GUIMARD'S PARIS MÉTRO ENTRANCE AT PORTE DAUPHINE



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## On to the Ball

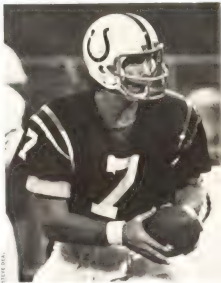
With its graceful stone buildings set among the rolling, wooded hillsides of Maryland's hunt country, Goucher College has long been an exclusive school for women. This summer, however, it has been the training-camp home of the National Football League's most aggressive social climbers, the Baltimore Colts. Last season the Colts were football's Cinderella, bouncing from two wins and twelve losses in 1974 to the championship of the American Football Conference's Eastern Division and a spot in the 1975 play-offs. They were beaten by the Pittsburgh Steelers in the first play-off round, but this year the Colts hope to stay at the dance past midnight. With a solid defense and an offense led by Quarterback Bert Jones—considered by many to be the best young passer in the pro ranks—they might well succeed.

That the Colts were ready for the race to the Super Bowl was obvious from the first day of training, when every member of the squad reported to Goucher with a signed contract. Thus the Colts began practice with no holdouts and no distractions—the only N.F.L. team to do so in an era of free agents and player unrest. While the players went through drills under muggy Maryland skies, the emphasis was on honing a club that would be young enough—average age: 25—to contend for years.

**Duck Hunting.** Jones, beginning his fourth year in the pros, is now a seasoned gridiron thinker, as well as an accurate passer, who was once described as "football's Sandy Koufax." Last year he rated fourth among N.F.L. quarterbacks in total offense, leading the league in quarterback rushing with 321 yds. He completed 59% of his passes, breaking the Colts' record held by Johnny Unitas. Jones, 25, has but one eccentricity: growing a beard during the season—not to shave it off for the cameras à la Namath, but to camouflage his face for duck hunting in the Chesapeake marshes.

The Colts' offensive line is anchored by All-Pro Tackle George Kunz and Center Ken Mendenhall, and flanked by stylish Tight End Raymond Chester and ebullient Wide Receiver Glenn (Shake-'n-Bake) Doughty. Running Back Lydell Mitchell is the team's most effective runner. Roosevelt Leaks, at fullback, will attempt to fill the Colts' weakest offensive slot.

On defense, the Colts' front four is largely unknown to fans, but not to opposing quarterbacks. Pittsburgh's fearsome front four has the rep, but it was the Colts' "Sack Pack" that led the league in defending passers last season. Defensive Tackles Joe Ehrmann and Mike Barnes and Ends John Dutton and Fred Cook have played together long enough—two years—to know one an-



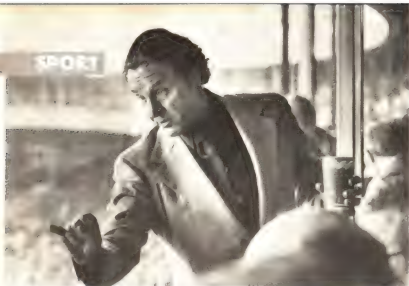
COLTS QUARTERBACK BERT JONES  
Out of the artichoke.

other's instincts thoroughly. The result is the kind of fluid, unified play that opposing linemen find hard to break up. The same cohesive style marks the linebackers and secondary.

The 1976 Colts resemble the 1971 Miami Dolphins and the 1968 Minnesota Vikings—all sound, young clubs with rosters of largely unheralded collegians on the brink of Super Bowl seasons. The similarities are not surprising, since the same man, Joe Thomas, built all three teams. Thomas, 55, is vice president and general manager of the Colts, a job he engineered for himself by talking Owner Robert Irsay into buying the club for him to run. A onetime assistant coach, Thomas' reputation for finding football talent was so established that he was the first person hired by the expansion Vikings and, later, the Dolphins. He is pro football's master builder, a craftsman of the draft and the trade, the man who picked Fran Tarkenton when scrambling quarterbacks were an apostasy in the N.F.L., and who traded for Paul Warfield when he was supposedly Cleveland's only untradable player. He refers to his system as the "artichoke method." Says Thomas: "You build from the inside. At the core are the tender young rookies, the ones you get in the draft. You build *under* the veterans, and then you keep peeling them off, like the leaves of an artichoke, until you're down to the heart."

**Sweet Clean.** The peeling in Baltimore was painful. When Thomas came in 1972, the team was only one year past a Super Bowl title, but already aging and on the way down. One by one, veterans like Unitas, Tom Matte and John Mackey were benched, then traded. His





BALTIMORE'S MASTER BUILDER JOE THOMAS TURNS A SHARP EYE ON THE FIELD BELOW  
Using unheralded collegians and the "Artichoke Method" to win championships.

broom-swept clean, only six of the 40 veterans on the squad were with Baltimore before Thomas arrived.

Not all of Thomas' plans for rebuilding the Colts have worked out. One big catch that got away this year was Larry Csonka. He had played for Thomas at Miami, and could have been the answer to Baltimore's shortage of size and experience in the fullback position. Csonka talked with his old boss briefly when he became a free agent last March, but later signed with the New York Giants. The problem, says Thomas unhappily, was Csonka's demand for a guaranteed, no-cut contract. "I just don't give anyone that," he explains. "It's not fair to our players who have sweated for us during a season. I'd rather have a happy club than one rich guy."

The Colts belong to the A.F.C.'s Eastern Division, one of the league's strongest, since it includes Miami, Buffalo and New England. In addition, the Colts must play Cincinnati, Dallas and St. Louis, all of whom earned playoff berths last year. A lackluster exhibition season worries Thomas, since the Colts must get off to a good start if they are to survive the first five games of the season. The Colts open with a bout with the New England Patriots next week, followed in quick succession by other tough games with Dallas and Miami. But football's canniest handicappers are boldly putting their money on the Colts-Baltimore, which never saw the light of the tube last year until the play-offs, is scheduled for five nationally televised games this season. As bettis Cinderella.

## A Wedge for Wagering

There is one in every office: the guy with the shoebox and slips of paper who organizes the football betting pool. His species could be about to become extinct in Delaware; however, where the first legalized betting on professional football games began last week. Like many other states, Delaware is strapped

for funds and has turned to state-run sports gambling as a new source of revenue. But unlike other states, which have limited matters to local horse tracks, punters in Delaware are being invited to put their money on fellows in shoulder pads running up and down gridirons all over the nation.

The National Football League is outraged at the halfback-horse equation implied in the Delaware plan, and worries that legalized gambling might spread and lead to scandal. The league went to federal court to stop the pool, but lost the first round of its suit. The N.F.L.'s concern about fixes is real and its policing of the game is aggressive. A full-time staff of investigators monitors coaches and players, and the league is quick to act when it scents potential trouble, witness the celebrated suspension of Paul Hornung for wagering on games and the order that Joe Namath sell his interest in a restaurant frequented by betting types. Illegal gambling on pro football is already massive; of course, polls have indicated that 31 million Americans wager some \$15 billion annually on the outcome of N.F.L. games. But the N.F.L. argues that any wagering, legal or not, carries a potential of trouble. Says League Commissioner Pete Rozelle: "The world knows no less rational person than a losing bettor."

Delaware's system is modeled on horse racing's familiar parimutuel pool method. Bettors may buy into two weekly pools, called "Football Bonus" and "Touchdown." The Bonus requires picking winners outright in either seven or 14 N.F.L. games; in Touchdown, fans must hit the point spread correctly as well as predict the outcome of any three, four or five games. It will cost \$20 to bet on the Football Bonus and \$10 on Touchdown. The payoffs, which will be announced on Tuesdays following the weekend games, will amount to 45% of the total pool. At race tracks, by contrast, about 80% of the handle is returned to bettors as winnings.

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Determined That Cigarette Smoking  
Is Dangerous to Your Health.

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## Sunrise Sweepstakes

Barely a year ago, Jane Pauley was a second-string newsreader for a local TV station in Indianapolis. This week she goes on the air as the favored finalist in network television's most comprehensive talent hunt—well, since NBC went looking for a man to co-host the *Today* show with Barbara Walters in 1974. This time, the network is hunting for someone to replace Walters, who next month starts her \$1 million-a-year job on ABC's *Evening News*.

The sunrise sweepstakes began last May after Walters announced her change of venue. NBC Vice Presidents Richard Fischer and Robert Mulholland screened some 150 tapes of local and network newsmen. Since July a dozen candidates have been brought to New York for interviews or live auditions, and three have reached the finals. Pauley, 25, who anchors the 5 o'clock news on NBC's Chicago affiliate, Consumer Expert Betty Furness, 60, who

took the job provisionally when Walters left and completed her tryout last Friday, and Cassie Mackin, 38, a crack NBC Washington correspondent. After Mackin's final audition next week, NBC will poll 2,000 selected viewers in eight cities on their preference, and network executives expect to crown Walters' successor by Oct. 4—oddly enough, the day Walters makes her bow on ABC.

**Second Fiddle.** In fact, NBC already has a successor to Walters, Tom Brokaw, 36, who took over last week as prime host of *Today* after three years on the White House beat. His new leading lady, whoever she turns out to be, will play second fiddle. "The uneasy alliance between our co-hosts did not help the show," says *Today*'s new executive producer, Paul Friedman, 31. "We're getting back to a single person in charge."

That is not all that is changing at *Today*. The set is being redesigned ("Something more comfortable, less formal and sterile," says Producer Friedman), and the show's sometimes clunky script virtually thrown out in favor of ad libbing. Jim Hartz, Walters' intelligent, bland co-host, will hit the road to find Charles Kuralt-ish features. Interviews will be shorter, and a battery of specialists (on science, health, sports, travel, consumer affairs) will be brought in. Says Friedman, "If we can't be spontaneous, we're in trouble."

*Today*, which since 1952 has been a gusher for NBC (annual revenues as high as \$22 million), is already in trouble. The show's audience is down 31% from 1973. Even so, *Today* still has twice the audience of either the sobersides *CBS Morning News* or ABC's fluffy *Good Morning, America*. But the ABC program, co-hosted by actors and spiced with gossip, has been stealing *Today* viewers, particularly younger ones. *To-*

*day*'s new spontaneity is designed to win them back. Consequently, NBC's search could end with Pauley. The honey-blond from Indianapolis is young, poised and primly attractive. Viewer mail is running in her favor, and she even speaks like Barbara Walters.

The verdict, however, rests with Dick Wald, NBC Chairman Julian Goodman and President Herbert Schlosser, and that jury is still out. "If Miss 'X' walks in tomorrow, we might consider her," cautions an NBC executive. Quite so. During the 1974 talent hunt, Brokaw was the odds-on favorite, followed by other household names. The winner that time: Jim Hartz, almost no one's first choice.

## The Horrible Herb Show

The White House telephone operator was frantic. "Some guy on TV in Philadelphia," she said, had just told agency consumers to phone complaints directly to the President, and the switchboard was jammed. The guy was Herbert S. Denenberg, 46, lawyer, author (seven books), former college professor, hell-raising former Pennsylvania insurance commissioner (TIME, July 10, 1972), and currently one of the funniest, roughest consumer-affairs reporters ever to read fine print on a label.

Since he began his evening-news spots on Philadelphia's WCAS-TV 16 months ago (after losing a 1974 bid for the Democratic U.S. Senate nomination), Denenberg has flayed the makers of more than 150 products, from sedatives to sugarless gum. Horrible Herb, as he is known among his victims, spices his vitriol with humor. One recent broadcast: "I make sure I get my exercise, get enough rest, and eat healthy food. So I don't need Geritol."

Denenberg is not merely a reporter; he sometimes adds action to excoriation. When he noticed that the antidote on the labels of all wood-alcohol products was medically unsound and possibly fatal, he filed a successful petition with the Consumer Product Safety Commission for new labeling regulations. Two weeks ago Denenberg petitioned the commission to order all U.S. poison labels—some 50,000—rewritten.

Denenberg is one of at least 50 TV consumer reporters in the U.S. They are a new and embattled breed. John Stossel of New York City's WCBS-TV faces \$25 million worth of lawsuits, and Orien Reed, Denenberg's counterpart at KYW-TV in Philadelphia, says she has lost count of the actions filed against her. But Herb Denenberg? He has provoked not a single lawsuit. Not a single advertiser has threatened to cancel.

One reason is that Denenberg and his unpaid staff (three student interns and his wife Naomi) check and recheck



TODAY SHOW'S NEW HOST TOM BROKAW



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So when somebody says, "It's a small world," you can be sure microwave had something to do with it.

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GLOBAL  
SIDE GTE**





CONSUMER REPORTER DENENBERG  
"I don't need Geritol."

every word in his scripts. Moreover, his legal, academic and government experience puts him on equal footing with many company lawyers. Says he: "I know my neck is on the line."

Denenberg has a couple of product defects: a nasal twang and a face that could stop a utility rate hike. "I don't use makeup," he sighs. "I discovered I looked worse wearing it." Still, Denenberg outran Walter Cronkite in a 1973 Pennsylvania poll on trustworthy public figures. Some colleagues suggest the scourge is using TV as a launching pad for another shot at public office. Denenberg admits, "I would like to have more resources."

For now consumerism dominates his life: in his spare hours, he writes a weekly column for the Philadelphia *Bulletin* and is working on a book on health care. Says he: "My greatest satisfaction is keeping some kid from drinking poison or making some Government agency do what it's supposed to do. For relaxation I go out and read food labels."

## The Silent Four

Their final appeal denied by the California Supreme Court, four Fresno *Bee* newsmen last week became the largest group of U.S. journalists to be jailed for a single story. The Fresno four—Managing Editor George F. Gruner, former City Editor James H. Bort Jr., and Reporters William K. Patterson and Joe Rosato—will not be released until they tell how they obtained secret grand jury testimony quoted in a 1975 story about local corruption, or until a judge becomes convinced they cannot be forced to talk. Before the four entered a county prison farm at Caruthers late last week, they vowed never to betray their sources. Said Editor Gruner: "We are defending one of our basic freedoms."

## NEWSWATCH/THOMAS GRIFFITH

### You Have to Be Neutral to Ask the Questions

Considering the animus that still exists toward the press, it is surprising how universal is the agreement that in the forthcoming debates, Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter should be cross-questioned by those paragons of impartiality, journalists. In more paranoid times, anchor men were accused of covertly liberal inflection, and the rise of David Brinkley's eyebrows came under particular suspicion. John Chancellor once locked himself in his bathroom and tried to read a piece of copy before the mirror in ways that would give it different slants. He says he never finished the experiment because each time he broke up laughing.

Network anchor men—men of vast influence but little power—are ideal moderators. Their job has evolved curiously. Ambitious people lust after it. To be an anchor man is to be sought after by hostesses and courted with wary deference by politicians; to cause a stir in restaurants; to be highly visible and highly paid. The nice-guy qualities needed—a pleasing presence, articulate spontaneity, neutral manner—seem easily imitable but are not. Each year local television stations clone platoons of handsomely competent news readers, some of whom are expensively promoted to the big time but do not make it. They do all right as long as they just read, but when forced to describe an event at length themselves, they prove uninteresting because their minds are uninteresting; in interviews, they lack the knowledge or the dexterity to cross-examine.

The skilled anchor man does not palaver, as time-filling radio broadcasters used to, but rarely does he say anything memorable either. His talent is to roll out endless spools of language that inform but do not rile. It is a strange, self-limiting role for garrulous, confident men. Opinionated candor must be held in check: the impartiality that a writer achieves painfully at his typewriter has to emerge instantly, toothpaste-clean, from the anchor man or commentator.

Self-restraint is a must in television interviewing also. Mike Wallace began as a hard-edged, on-camera prosecutor, but has since developed an effective backhand—a disarming, disbelieving smile when confronted with obviously unpersuasive answers. The thoughtful Edwin Newman is so self-effacing that at times he seems to be turning away from the camera. Barbara Walters often offers a quickstep apology for asking a sharp question, then zeroes right in. Bill Moyers is a moralizer whose impetuous "big" questions sometimes drive his hapless subjects to embarrassingly hasty profundities. But all of these

interviewers know that their job is to draw out a person. It is not, as in the quite different *Firing Line* assignment of the agile William F. Buckley Jr., to debate as an equal.

Television's neutrality is a little less than it seems. As Paul H. Weaver points out, television tends to condescend to politicians. This may be because "neutrality" permits a commentator a great many negative remarks about politicians hungry for office, aiming their speeches at some bloc, making a poor showing or taking desperate measures. But neutrality bars a commentator from saying bluntly "That was a brilliant speech," "I agree with him," or "He acted courageously."

Some of Washington's best print journalists—Peter Lisagor, David S. Broder, Hugh Sidey and Elizabeth Drew—who appear often on TV panels, also understand televised neutrality. They too should do well in the upcoming quartet of Ford-Carter and Dole-Mondale debates. Earlier this year, when the League of Women Voters televised discussions among the scramble of Democratic contenders, a different kind of questioner presided. Hoping to avoid the journalist's presumed superficiality, the league turned instead to specialists in such subjects as energy, foreign affairs, welfare and economics. They did not work out well. Some were too self-conscious, professionally superior and downright argumentative, rejecting a candidate's argument scornfully as if they were grading an undergraduate's exam paper.

Press questioners know better how to ask the brief, pertinent question, then get out of the way. But they would all be well advised to come equipped, as Lawrence Spivak doily used to do every Sunday on *Meet the Press*, with index cards to quote from whenever the candidate says something that contradicts an earlier stand.

The debates should provide fine spectator sport: valuable for the chance to judge the candidate's character by his demeanor under pressure. But very little real news may emerge. Having campaigned all year, neither Ford nor Carter is apt to be surprised by an unexpected question. Both will be briefed and crammed; both are unfazed at repeating by rote positions previously taken. The likeliest result of such an equal facing-off, as it was in the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon debates, is to make the argument of inexperience suddenly lose much of its force.

A careful, neutral television commentator would not make that flat a prediction. It might not work out that way this time, he would say.



### The House Hunters

"It's old."  
"It's rambling."  
"It needs work."  
"Johnnie Walker Red?"

"It's charming."  
"It's spacious."  
"It's a great buy."  
"Welcome home."



**Johnnie Walker Red**  
**The Scotch you can agree on.**

100% Blended Scotch Whiskies. 86.8 Proof. © 1976 Somerset Importers, Ltd., N.Y.



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**Today's True, lower than ever in tar.  
And a taste worth changing to. Think about it.**

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined  
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

Regular and Menthol: 5 mg. "tar", 0.5 mg. nicotine,  
av. per cigarette, by FTC Method.



## American Whoppers

**NOW PLAYING AT CANTERBURY**  
by VANCE BOURJAILY  
518 pages, Dial, \$10.

Like a number of his contemporaries—Norman Mailer, Gore Vidal, Irwin Shaw and John Horne Burns—Vance Bourjaily salvaged a good first novel (*The End of My Life*) out of the rubble of World War II. Critics spotted him among this cadre of new novelists, who became part of the curriculum for an American literary renaissance. The smart writers paid no attention. Neither life nor art traipses after textbooks, and the Mailers and Vidals went their sep-

would have trouble satisfying, but it also obscures the nicest thing about Bourjaily's novel. It is not the obligatory cultural headline for this year: it is a generally joyless read.

The Chaucer of *The Canterbury Tales* appears only in the author's purloined formula: toss some interesting strangers together and stir. The plot is launched by English Professor Rigby Short, whose opera libretto, *\$4000*, is about to be performed at a large Midwestern university. The locale resembles the University of Iowa, where Bourjaily has been associated with the writers workshop for the past 16 years. (In 1969 an opera for which he wrote the libretto, *\$4000*, was staged there.) The nov-

pers and case histories, the members of the troupe couple and uncouple in scenes that manage to be both erotic and clinically detached. Jealousies arise, a small epidemic of paranoia breaks out as opening night approaches. Linking all this motion and emotion is the production itself—the constant grind of rehearsals, the inexorable piling up of bits and pieces into something with the potential for magic.

**Pleasant Dreams.** Bourjaily recounts these nervous preparations with the expertise of one who has been through them. Unfortunately, he also includes the whole libretto of *\$4000*. Since he wrote it his fondness for the piece is forgivable. But his tearjerker about a Southern construction crew does not sing on the page. Bourjaily lovingly describes the eventual performance as a smash success; yet it is impossible to imagine how a "solid bass boom" of a voice could save the time. "I'll see you in the morning, Buster. Pleasant dreams."

In addition, Bourjaily does not always sense when his powers of invention are flagging. Some of the interpolated tales are simply dull. Others are tricked out with bad mannerisms. One limps along in rhymed couplets. Another makes extensive—and pointless—use of comic-strip balloons filled with dialogue. A young black performer talks and thinks in a free-associating patois lifted and badly fumbled from *Finnegans Wake*.

Fortunately, Bourjaily has chosen a framework loose and capacious enough to absorb the bad with the good. And his virtues have never been on better display. He can capture American speech and cage it on the page without loss of vitality. His sympathies are generous; his descriptions of the nation's heartland landscapes throb with passion. Because its parts are greater than the sum of its whole, *Now Playing at Canterbury* will disappoint those who are still searching for that Loch Ness monster of the literary swim, the Great American Novel. No matter. It should be accepted gratefully for what it is, a minor piece, flawed but undeniably alive.

Paul Gray



**NOVELIST VANCE BOURJAILY ON A VISIT TO NEW YORK CITY**  
*The world's fastest Jeep and a pack of man-eating cats.*

arate ways. But Bourjaily, now 54, has never escaped the stigma of premature recognition. On the appearance of each of his next five novels, he was cuffed for failing to live up to a promise that others had made for him.

**Jolly Read.** Small wonder then that *Now Playing at Canterbury* seems designed to stun the carpers into silence. The novel's considerable heft and the titular allusion to Chaucer are signs that High Seriousness is about to be committed. Bourjaily's publisher has pitched in with a prepublication hype apparatus keyed to the Second Coming ("one of the most important books Dial will ever publish—the major work by a major American novelist"). Such hoopla not only raises expectations that *Moby-Dick*

el's cast is composed of a gaggle of graduate students, some local singers and several professionals from the outside. An esteemed Japanese conductor appears on the scene, along with a wise-cracking director from Philadelphia. What happens, Short is asked, when such a diverse group comes together? His answer: They tell lies.

So they do splendidly. There is the yarn about the innocent temptress from Biloxi, Miss., and the odd revenge she takes on the man who steals her away. That one is topped by the tale of the fastest Jeep in the world and a deadly race in the Mexican foothills. A graduate student contributes a chiller about a pack of man-eating cats in his home town.

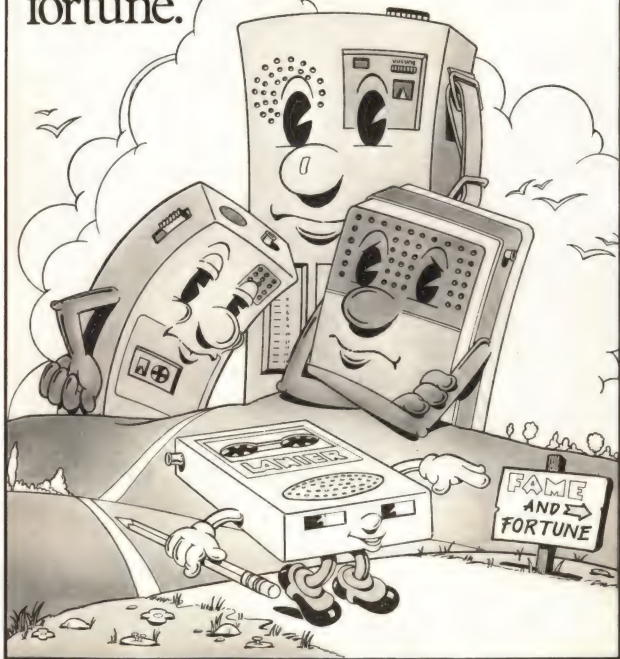
When they are not swapping whop-

## Ground Zero

**THE LIGHT AT THE CENTER: CONTEXT AND PRETEXT OF MODERN MYSTICISM**  
by AGEHANANDA BHARATI  
254 pages, Ross-Erikson, \$11.95.

Let your fingers do the walking and these days they stumble at almost every step over yoga parlors, tai chi ranches, Scientology centers, Subud temples, Sufi congregations, TM ashrams, Hare Krishna missions, Zen monasteries, astrology academies and tarot prophets. The flyways from East to West are dense with flocks of migratory swamis who

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# While Alma Mater Burns.

In the September *Atlantic Monthly*, former Bennington College President Gail Thain Parker blasts away at the "incestuous viciousness" within the ranks of academia. Her fire is devastating. College faculty in particular



are accused of being little better than squabbling lobbyists more interested in self-preservation than in the dispensation of knowledge. A bombshell of an article with frightening implications.

Also in the September *Atlantic*: *A Fatal Slaying of the Very Worst Kind* by Edwin Newman, an understandably understated piece of wisdom on redundancy by a leading critic of oral America. Plus *Why Yalies Can't Write* by Richard Todd and *Lo, The Poor Animals!* by James Fallows.

The September  
**Atlantic**  
On Newsstands Now.

## BOOKS



AUTHOR AGNEHANANDA BHARATI  
A bazaar of the bizarre.

come bearing wisdom and go lugging gold. A bazaar of the bizarre if ever there was one, and its most exotic merchandise, the pearl beyond price, is something known as brahmacharyam, samadhi, marafat or, in plain English, the mystical experience.

It is an experience so rare that few are qualified to distinguish the false from the genuine article. What has long been needed is a global Bureau of Mystical Standards, or at least an impartial Spiritual Assayer who is thoroughly trained in both Eastern and Western traditions and values. The right man may now have turned up. Son of a Hindu father and a German mother, Agnehananda Bharati grew up in between-wars Vienna, studied in Indian monasteries, and then took degrees in anthropology and philosophy at the University of Washington. He is now chairman of the department of anthropology at Syracuse University.

**Personal Encounter.** In *The Light at the Center: Context and Pretext of Modern Mysticism*, Bharati unscrews the inscrutable with the precision tools of language, philosophy and behavioral science. He lets incensed air out of inflated spiritual traditions and reputations on both sides of the world. He scoffs at the counterculture's notion of the mystical experience as a category of paranormal phenomena, and he disagrees with theologians who equate mysticism with a personal encounter with the deity. The only way to understand a mystical experience, says Bharati, is to have one.

"Tasteless... like distilled water... zero content of a cognitive sort... I was the universe moving in itself... no longer quite human... somehow divine" — in describing his own six mystical experiences, Bharati manipulates the vague

traditional formulas. He also confirms that the "zero-experience," as he calls it, may be accompanied by feelings of unspeakable ecstasy. But then he springs a heresy: "Fasting, prayer, drugs, self-mortification, fornication, standing on his head, grace, listening to *Tristan and Isolde* unabridged three times in a row... for a mystic, whatever leads to the zero-experience is good."

**Spiritual Exercises.** Howls of religious outrage may also greet Bharati's description of the mystical personality. Conventional wisdom in most traditions, says Bharati, assumes that a man who has looked into the eye of God must be a saint or a sage. Rubbish, he replies. "The zero-experience cannot generate sainthood [or] wisdom... any more than orgasm can generate good citizenship... The mystic who was a stinker before he had the zero-experience remains a stinker after the experience." By way of illustration, Bharati describes a mystic named Trilinga who threw stones at approaching visitors. The author also quotes an all too revealing conversation between Ramakrishna, the most celebrated mystic of this century, and a swami called Vivekananda.

R: What do you really think of me?

V: You are the incarnation of the divine.

R (nodding enthusiastically): You have truly understood me.

Bharati also jostles some halos in his discussion of mystical procedures. The swamis like to pretend they can snap into samadhi whenever they want, but Bharati says it just is not so. "No determined set of actions, no planning for mysticism, guarantees its occurrence." But surely yoga and meditation help? Brusquely, the author crumples yet another cherished Occidental illusion. In the finest Indian monasteries, postulants are taught that there is "no causal relationship" between spiritual exercises and the mystical culmination. At least half of all mystical experiences come unsummoned. Then why bother to do the exercises? Bharati's guru had one of those exasperating Oriental answers that answer nothing and everything: "Some plow the fields, some go to war, some to exercises."

The Christian mystic in Bharati's opinion, has major problems. Christ made statements ("I and the Father are one"; "Ye are Gods") that seem to imply a mystical identity of God and man, but official dualistic Christianity posits an infinite gulf between the two. That gulf may be bridged by God's grace, but even then the mystic cannot be God. Fusion is heresy. Lacking God's grace, the Christian mystic must wait for it in an anguish known as *accedia* or "the dark night of the soul." But even when grace is given, as Bharati reads the situation, the Christian mystic must dissemble his experience through a series of tricky theological mirrors. He is a sacred maverick who goes straight to the boss over



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## BOOKS

the heads of middle management, and clerical bureaucrats are usually looking to clip his wings.

Well aware that the people who run the world are seldom unworldly, Bharati predicts a "criminal period for mysticism." By promoting "supreme autonomy" in its devotees, it can "alienate... mind and body" from the service of the social order. Bharati estimates that if mysticism continues to enlarge its following at the current rate, meditating hermits will crowd the caves and holy men with begging bowls will clutter the nation's streets.

At that point, Bharati suspects, "some pattern of legal action will ensue." Police will round up saints as well as bums; the lotus may become an illegal position. Radical as he is, the author feels some sympathy for the law-and-order position. Mysticism is a good thing, in his opinion, for those who can handle it, but he fears that mass inflation of the transcendental could bring on an epidemic of "cosmic insanity." He wisely advises the unwary neophyte to look carefully before he leaps into the abyss of being.

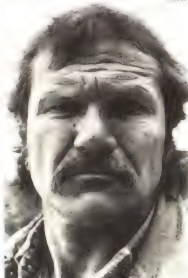
**Brad Darrach**

## Fangs

A FEAST OF SNAKES  
by HARRY CREWS  
177 pages, Atheneum, \$7.95.

Flannery O'Connor, the late short-story master from Georgia, once noted that "any fiction that comes out of the South is going to be considered grotesque by the Northern critic, unless it is grotesque, in which case it is going to be considered realistic." At the time—the '50s—it was a convenient arrangement: regionalism provided neat categories for prides and prejudices. But the postwar boundaries could not hold.

CREWS



NOVELIST HARRY CREWS  
*Maiming without malice.*

**William Goldman is the author of 'Marathon Man',  
'Boys and Girls Together,' and 'Butch Cassidy  
and the Sundance Kid'.**

**Like everything he writes, his new novel is touched with**

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## BOOKS

Suddenly, it seemed, everybody was writing about his relatives as if they were not only grotesque but absurdly, even proudly grotesque.

Georgia-born Harry Crews has pushed this proposition about as far as it can go. In such short novels as *Karate Is a Thing of the Spirit*, *The Hawk Is Dying*, and *Car-tin* which a man eats a cat. Crews customized gothic clichés into literary hot-rods. *A Feast of Snakes* is his most outlandish vehicle to date. Set in Mystic, Ga., site of an annual rattlesnake hunt, the book gathers its atmosphere from the frenzies and violence associated with religious primitivism.

In Mystic, even the high school football team is known as the Rattles. Joe Lon Mackey, once one of the team's great running backs, now lives in a trailer with his pregnant wife and two kids. His days of glory behind him, he sells whisky to the locals while his daddy trains fighting dogs and his mad sister watches TV round the clock. It is a world in which boredom and brutality are kinds of celebration where men were maimed without malice, sometimes—often even—in friendship.

The maimings—athletic, psychological and sexual—occur without letup. Their culmination is the madness and chaos of the rattlesnake hunt itself, with the implication that the ancient, once powerful symbol of the snake has been so trivialized it no longer has the capacity to heal. As in past novels, Crews gets carried away with his own wildly fertile imagination and verbal gifts. His new book is full of brilliant descriptions and characters attempting to kick and gouge their way through some back door to salvation. The problem is that there is too little distinction between the truly grotesque and the gratuitously bizarre.

R. Z. Sheppard

## Best Sellers

### FICTION

- 1—Trinity, Ursula I last week
- 2—Dolores, Susan (2)
- 3—The Lonely Lady, Robbins (3)
- 4—Touch Not the Cat, Stewart (4)
- 5—The Deep, Benchley (5)
- 6—Crowned Heads, Tryon (6)
- 7—Ordinary People, Guest (8)
- 8—A Stranger in the Mirror, Sheldon (10)
- 9—Agent in Place, MacInnes
- 10—A God Against the Gods, Druy

### NONFICTION

- 1—Passages, Sheehy (1)
- 2—The Final Days, Woodward & Bernstein (2)
- 3—A Man Called Intrapid, Stevenson (3)
- 4—World of Our Fathers, Howe (4)
- 5—A Year of Beauty and Health, Beverly & Vidal Sassoon (6)
- 6—Scoundrel Time, Hellman (5)
- 7—Your Erroneous Zones, Dyer (8)
- 8—Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, Kerner (7)
- 9—The Rockefellers, Collier & Harowitz (10)
- 10—Loretta Lynn, Lynn & Vecsey

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## Imported Variety

Late summer is slack time, and theaters have to scrounge for new movies. That may be part of it. But a quick survey of three recent films from abroad also suggests that the revolutions in the European cinema of the early '60s have subsided, the changes they brought have become standardized, and film makers on the Continent have forsaken enterprise for convention.

**COUSIN, COUSINE**, much honored in France, is one of those overbearingly blithe sexual comedies that stirred the New Wave directors to rebellion. The movie confuses fecklessness with charm, trips so lightly that it never settles down to anything telling. Gallic comedies like

Meanwhile, the family is in some distress: Ludovic's wife threatens suicide; Marthe's husband, jealous, even desists from his own love affairs to bring her to heel. Although Director Jean-Charles Tacchella manages some telling glimpses of family life, *Cousin, Cousine* becomes a sort of bourgeois anti-bourgeois parody. At its worst moments the movie looks like a musical without songs. Characters glide about, acting as if they are about to burst into song.

Another French movie, **THE CLOCK-MAKER**, is more sober but similarly slight. Philippe Noiret, a worthy actor with the wistful, befuddled expression of an alpine rescue dog, appears as a widowed father whose son has collaborated in the killing of a factory foreman. The

al, half-failing lives to have a little fun. This usually involves playing practical jokes—such as slapping in sequence the faces of passengers leaning out the windows of a departing train—and acting in general like sailors on their first shore leave. The audience is meant to feel compassion for these arrested adolescents, but also to laugh at their pranks—that is, to be critics and accomplices at once. If such a feat were possible, these fellows do not justify making the effort.

Jay Cocks

## Indian Giver

THE RETURN OF A MAN CALLED HORSE

Directed by IRVIN KERSHNER

Screenplay by JACK DE WITT

When last glimpsed six years ago in *A Man Called Horse*, Sir John Morgan (Richard Harris) had become an honorary blood brother to a tribe of Sioux. The operative word here is blood. Morgan, an English lord on tour of the U.S. in the early 19th century, was captured by the Indians and treated as a slave. He proved his mettle and finally became one of the tribe by enduring all manner of tests and initiation rites, including a ceremony in which he was strung up by his pectorals. Manhood through pain and all that. The Sioux apparently set great store by such things.

**Set Pieces.** So does Sir John, for when first encountered in this skillful if silly sequel, he is languishing in his manor house back in Merrie Olde, yearning for the great plains and the ennobling wisdom of the red man. Also, presumably, his pectorals have not had a good workout since he returned home. So Morgan journeys back to America and goes out West, where he discovers his tribesmen in a sorry state, chased off their modest preserves by a bunch of scurvy trappers. Morgan sets about helping the Indians vanquish their oppressors.

The new movie, which is at least an improvement on the original, serves as a good example of what a talented director can do with intractable material. Irvin Kershner, who is known for such pocket dramas as *The Hoodlum Priest* and *Loving*, is working for the first time on a large scale. With the excellent assistance of Cameraman Owen Roizman (*The Exorcist*), he brings off some fine set pieces: a buffalo hunt, the sacking of a fort. The movie is too glib about Indian spirituality to be good, too self-conscious about being on the Indians' side to be wholly convincing. *The Return of a Man Called Horse* is no more deeply Indian than the old Boy Scout ceremony of the Order of the Arrow. Kershner, at least, endures his own trial and proves his mettle by keeping the movie from seeming entirely ridiculous.

J.C.



MARIE-CHRISTINE BARRAULT & VICTOR LANOUX RUB-A-DUBBING IN *COUSIN, COUSINE*  
Clobbering each other with cuteness in a musical without songs.

*Cousin, Cousine* are animated by a certain earthbound volatility of spirit and depend on a willingness to believe that sensuality can come in an array of sizes and shades, all pastel.

Two cousins by marriage, Marthe (attractively played by Marie-Christine Barrault) and Ludovic (Victor Lanoux), strike up a love affair that is, at first, resolutely platonic. The family thinks the couple is carrying on: fine, let them think whatever they want. After a while, however, Marthe and Ludovic agree that they are bearing the burden of suspicion without reaping any of the benefits. So they have at it with the sort of manufactured high spirits that could be bottled and labeled "Whimsical Abandon." They check into a hotel for a quick afternoon rendezvous, lose track of time and spend the rest of the day together, making love and painting sily designs over each other's bodies. They practically clobber each other with cuteness.

son is on the run with his partner in crime, who is also his girl friend. These two are not even glimpsed until late in the film, where they reveal themselves to be casual about the killing, past the point of indifference. Pop is not a figure of considerable passion either, and *The Clock-maker* concerns the tentative, ironic reconciliation between father and son, who are finally united by their moral blankness. It is a parched, parochial movie.

Noiret also shows up in **MY FRIENDS**, a film begun by the witty, raucous Pietro Germi (*Divorce—Italian Style*), who collaborated on the script but died after hardly a week of filming in 1974, at the age of 60. Mario Monicelli (*Big Deal on Madonna Street*) completed the movie, which, unfortunately, does little credit to anyone. *My Friends* concerns the infrequently amusing forays of a group of five stalwarts (Noiret, Ugo Tognazzi, Gastone Moshin, Duilio Del Prete, Adolfo Celi) who break out of their convention-





What a way to begin.  
My nosedive down "Beginners Slope"...  
all those jokes at our reception...  
but we had a good time in spite of it all.  
And that's how these last nine years  
seem to me. Yes, plenty of hard times,  
struggles to really get to know each other,  
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Brand S Menthol 100	19	1.2
Brand W 100	18	1.2
Brand M	18	1.1
Brand K Menthol	17	1.3
Brand M Box	17	1.0
Brand K	16	1.0

## Other cigarettes that call themselves low in "tar"

	tar mg / cigarette	nicotine mg / cigarette
Brand D	15	1.0
Brand P Box	14	0.8
Brand D Menthol	14	1.0
Brand M Lights	13	0.8
Brand W Lights	13	0.9
Brand K Milds Menthol	13	0.8
Brand T Menthol	11	0.7
Brand T	11	0.6
Brand V Menthol	11	0.8
Brand V	11	0.7
<b>Carlton Filter</b>	<b>*2</b>	<b>*0.2</b>
<b>Carlton Menthol</b>	<b>*1</b>	<b>*0.1</b>
<b>Carlton 70</b>	<b>*1</b>	<b>*0.1</b>

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